Joseph Raymond McCarthy

LATE A SENATOR FROM
WISCONSIN

* * *

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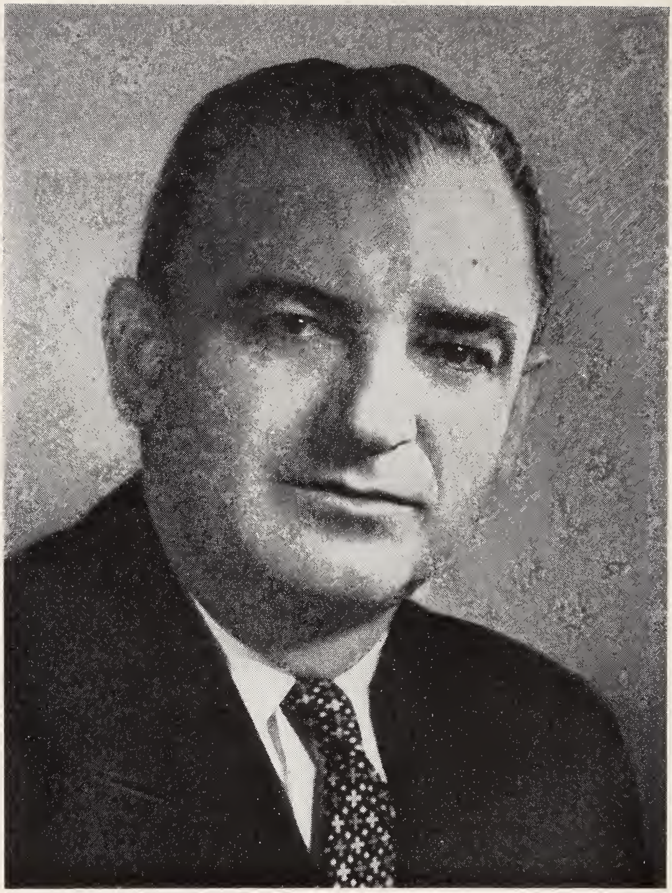

Memorial Services

HELD IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH
REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

Joseph Raymond McCarthy

LATE A SENATOR FROM
WISCONSIN

◆

Eighty-fifth Congress
First Session

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1957

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

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Biography

Joseph Raymond McCarthy was born in Grand Chute, Outagamie County, Wis., November 14, 1908; attended Underhill country school; worked on a farm and later started his own chicken farm; at the age of nineteen moved to Manawa and enrolled in Little Wolf High School while working in a grocery store and ushering at a theater in the evenings, completing a four-year course in one year; in 1930 entered Marquette University at Milwaukee, Wis., to study engineering but later transferred to the law department and graduated in 1935; was admitted to the bar the same year and commenced practice in Waupaca; in 1936 moved to Shawano, Wis., and continued the practice of his chosen profession; elected circuit judge of the tenth judicial circuit of Wisconsin in 1939 and while serving in this capacity enlisted, in 1942, as a private in the United States Marine Corps; was later commissioned a lieutenant, serving thirty months on active duty with nineteen months in the South Pacific area; unsuccessful candidate for United States Senator in 1944 while in military service; reelected circuit judge of Wisconsin in 1945 while still in the Marine Corps; elected as a Republican to the United States Senate in 1946; reelected in 1952 and served from January 3, 1947, until his death in the naval hospital at Bethesda, Md., May 2, 1957; funeral services were held in the Chamber of the United States Senate; interment in St. Mary's Cemetery, Appleton, Wis.

Funeral Services
in the
Chamber of the United States Senate

Funeral Services in the Chamber of the United States Senate

MONDAY, *May 6, 1957.*

The Members of the Senate assembled in the Senate Chamber at 11 o'clock a. m., to attend the funeral services for Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin.

The casket containing the body of the deceased Senator had been carried to the well of the Senate Chamber and placed in the area in front of the Secretary's desk.

The Vice President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon; the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn; Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr.; Representative John W. McCormack; Representative Leslie C. Arends; and I. Jack Martin, representing the President of the United States, entered the Chamber and were escorted to the seats reserved for them.

Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy and the members of the family of the deceased were escorted to the seats reserved for them.

The Postmaster General, Arthur E. Summerfield; the Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson; and the Commandant of the United States Marine Corps, Gen. Randolph McC. Pate, were escorted to the seats reserved for them.

The Chaplain of the Senate, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D.; Rt. Rev. Msgr. John Keating Cartwright, S. T. D.; and Rev. William J. Awalt, S. T. L., of St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington, D. C., took the places assigned them on the rostrum.

Dr. HARRIS. In this memorial hour we come to think of the life and service of one now fallen, who was ever a fighter—one who with intrepid spirit in this blessed land of room enough fought his early way from obscurity to the highest halls of governance; who left all to follow his country's flag across dim leagues of infested seas, when all that flag symbolizes was assailed by ruthless foes; one who returned to front on the national scene insidious enemies of the Republic, malignant power of darkness, who seek to destroy the moral and spiritual foundations of this last, best hope of humanity under God, and who deny and desecrate the image of God in every individual.

This hour, as the mortal body of one who here served lies in this historic Chamber, we unite in glady acknowledging that, unscathed by all differences of judgment regarding methods adopted for attaining worthy goals, in the heart of JOSEPH MCCARTHY there burned the bright flame of patriotism, pure and undefiled. In this hour, when beyond strident, controversial voices there is the peace of a calmer appraisal, we hail his indomitable purpose, his clearly defined objective, which was to expose cunning foes who, under cowardly cover, plot the betrayal of our freedom.

Now that his sun has gone down while it was yet day, those who praised and those who blamed agree that his ruling passion was to utterly destroy the subversion, in high places and low, which threatens the survival of our free life. Now that his lips are silent, in these days of destiny, when the precious things we hold nearest our hearts are beset by subtle dangers such as have never before been faced, may the ancient admonition of God's holy word be heard and heeded with a new alertness by those who guard the Nation's ramparts: "If the watchmen upon the walls see the enemy advancing and give not the warning, then the blood of the people shall be required of the watchmen's hands." And so this fallen warrior, though dead, speaketh, calling a nation of freemen to be delivered from the complacency of a false security, and from regarding those who loudly sound the trumpets of vigilance and alarm as mere disturbers of the peace.

Upon our swiftly passing days, may there rest the benediction of a faith that greatly dares, as, with a vow recorded in high heaven, we pledge anew that we will never falter, never desist, never compromise, never sheathe our righteous sword, until this torn and tortured earth is made safe for decency, truth, honor, and the pledged word. Then, as ebbs out our little day—

"Suffice it, if, our good or ill unreckoned
And both forgiven through God's abounding grace,
We find ourselves by hands familiar beckoned
Unto our fitting place"—

through death's portal, into some larger room in the Father's many-mansioned house.

The service for which we are gathered will be conducted by representatives of the religious faith to which Senator McCarthy gave his loyalty and his devotion. For that purpose, I present an honored priest of that church, who will conduct the service, the Reverend Father William J. Awalt, St. Matthew's Cathedral.

Father AWALT. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Go forth upon thy journey, Christian soul; go forth from this world, go in the name of God, the Omnipotent Father Who created thee.

Go in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, Son of the Living God, who bled for thee. Go in the name of the Holy Spirit, who has been poured out on thee. Go in the name of angels and archangels, in the name of thrones and dominations, in the name of princedoms and powers; of cherubim and seraphim; go forth.

Go on thy course, and may thy place today be found in peace, and may thy dwelling be the holy mount of Zion, in the name of Christ, our Lord.

Be merciful, be gracious; spare him, Lord; be mericful, be gracious, Lord; deliver him from the sins that are past. From

Thy frown and Thine ire, from the perils of dying, from the nethermost fire, from all that is evil, from the power of the Devil, thy servant deliver, for once and forever.

We commend to Thee, O Lord, the soul of this, Thy servant, JOSEPH; and beseech Thee, O Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the world, that as in Thy love for him Thou becamest Man, so now Thou wouldst vouchsafe to admit him into the number of Thy blessed. Remember, O Lord, that he is Thy creature, not made by strange gods, but by Thee, the only true and living God; for there is no other true God but Thee, and none can work Thy wonders.

Let his soul find consolation in Thy sight, and remember not his sins; for although he has sinned, as have we all, yet he still retained a true faith in Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; he has had a zeal for Thy honor, and faithfully adored Thee, his God, and the Creator of all things.

In Christ Jesus there has dawned for us the hope of a blessed resurrection, heartening, with a promise of immortality to come, those of us who are saddened by the certainty of dying. The life of those who are faithful to Thee, O Lord, is but changed, not ended; and when this earthly dwelling place decays, an everlasting mansion stands prepared for them in heaven.

A Psalm of David:

The Lord is my Shepherd: I want for nothing; He makes me to lie in green pastures, He leads me to waters where I may rest; He restores my soul. He guides me along the right paths for His Name's sake. Although I walk in a darksome valley, I shall fear no evil, for Thou art with me.

In the rites just concluded in St. Matthew's Cathedral, the church has given the late Senator McCARTHY the greatest honor she can bestow in the ceremonies and prayers of Christian burial. Of his own accord, so many times in life he had sought there, in that same church the solace and the help that he needed. Because he loved his faith and his church, he was brought there by others to his accustomed and familiar place, to be paid the last tribute that his faith could bestow.

It is only fitting that the other place which figured so largely in his life should now figure in the honors bestowed upon him. It is only fitting that one who gave so much of himself to his country should be honored now, at least briefly, in the place of his labor, the United States Senate. To him, the Senate of the United States was his life. For it, he had worked tirelessly and, we now know, to the detriment of his health, in a manner that will long be unparalleled in its dedication to country and to people.

For Senator McCarthy, his faith was his inspiration to service. A little known side of his character, which he kept hidden, but strong, was his manly devotion to his God. In his fight for the principles for which he stood, in the bravery and courage he displayed, well may he have reflected on the words of St. Paul:

"If God is for us, who is against us? He who has not spared even His own Son but has delivered Him for us all, How can He fail to grant us also all things with Him? Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or the sword? But in all these things we overcome because of Him who has loved us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature will be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord!"

What was for him inspiration to service is for you, his wife and his family, consolation in this time of your sorrow. For this same Christ has said, "I am the resurrection and the life. He who believeth in Me, although he be dead, shall live; and everyone who liveth and believeth in Me shall not die forever." Religious men had hoped for immortality; Philosophers had reasoned to an afterlife; but no one had given undeniable proof until Christ came. "I am the resurrection and the life." He said; and from the grave He came back to give us eternal life.

Many of us at least subconsciously adopt a curiously truncated theology. We stop short at the crucifixion, leaving the resurrection as a sort of appendix a happy ending to round off the story, after the real climax is complete. But to leave out the resurrection means that we have not really understood the nature of redemption, nor indeed the nature of God. God is a God of the living, not of the dead. He does not delight in death, destruction, and desolation. If He destroys, it is only to rebuild; if He lays waste, it is only to plant anew; if He dies, it is only to rise again.

We are followers of Christ. We follow Him not only with the cross, not only in suffering and death. These are but the means to our end. If we die with Christ, it is to live eternally with Him. We do not believe in survival only, but in life, for Christ has promised us life, life in its fullness, in all its aspects. We are born into a family; we are born again into a family which is the Church. While there is sorrow in the passing of one we love, it is but for a short time. Time passes quickly for us. We do not sorrow as do those who have no hope. The joy, the peace, the happiness that we rightly expect of Christ are not to be had in isolation one from another, for God is a Father of a family, and Christ is the Brother of the Children of God. If, for the Christian, life is not taken away. Then the love that we experience in a family now is as nothing compared with that of Heaven. It will be all the greater, because it is not only the love of an individual for God, and of God for the individual, but love shared by all those who are one in Christ. To you, his family, I say: In this is your consolation and faith, which I pray will be turned into reality.

"For the rest, brethren, whatever things are true, whatever honorable, whatever just, whatever holy, whatever lovable, whatever of good repute, if there be any virtue, if anything worthy of praise, think upon these things. And what you have learned and received and heard and seen, these things practice. And the God of Peace will be with you.

"Have no anxiety, but in every prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your petitions be made known to God. And may the peace of God, which surpasses all understanding, guard your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus."

Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord; for in Thy sight shall no man be justified, unless through Thee he find pardon for all his sins. Let not, therefore, we beseech Thee, the hand of Thy justice be heavy upon him whom the earnest prayer of Christian faith commendeth unto Thee, but by the help of Thy grace may he escape the judgment of vengeance; who, whilst he was living, was marked with the sign of the Holy Trinity: Who livest and reignest, world without end. Amen.

O God, to whom it belongest always to show mercy and to spare, we humbly beseech Thee for the soul of Thy servant, JOSEPH McCARTHY, whom Thou hast called out of this world, that Thou deliver him not into the hands of the enemy, nor forget him forever; but command that he be received by Thy holy angels and taken to paradise, his true country, and that as he hath believed and hoped in Thee, he may not suffer the pains of hell, but have joy everlasting through Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Let us pray.

Grant, O Lord, this mercy to Thy servant departed, that he who in his desires did Thy will, may not receive the punishment of his misdeeds; and that, as true faith hath joined him to the company of the faithful here below, Thy mercy may make him the companion of the holy angels in heaven, Through Christ, our Lord. Amen.

O God, the Creator and Redeemer of all the faithful, hear our supplications; and through Thy infinite love and mercy graciously grant to the soul of Thy servant, departed, the remission of all his sins, by which he may have deserved the severity of Thy divine justice and punishment in the world to come. Vouchsafe to him grace and mercy before Thy divine tribunal, and let him attain to everlasting rest and happiness, through the infinite merits of Jesus Christ. Amen.

O God, great and omnipotent, judge of the living and the dead, before whom we are all to appear after this short life to render an account of our works, let our hearts, we pray Thee, be deeply moved at this sight of death; and while we consign the body of the deceased to the earth, let us be mindful of our own frailty and mortality, that walking always in Thy fear and in the ways of Thy commandments, we may after our departure from this world experience a merciful judgment and rejoice in everlasting happiness, through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Grant, O Lord, we beseech Thee, that whilst we lament the departure of our brother, Thy servant, out of this life, we may bear in mind that we are most certainly to follow him. Give us grace to make ready for that last hour by a devout and holy life, and protect us against a sudden and unprovided death. Teach us how to watch and pray, that when Thy summons comes, we may go forth to meet the Christ and enter with Him into life everlasting. Through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Almighty and most merciful Father, who knowest the weakness of our nature, bow down Thine ear in pity unto Thy servants upon whom Thou hast laid the heavy burden of sorrow. Take away out of their hearts the spirit of rebellion, and teach them to see Thy good and gracious purpose working in all the trials which Thou dost send upon them. Grant that they may not languish in fruitless and unavailing grief, nor sorrow as those who have no hope; but through their tears look meekly up to Thee, the God of all consolation. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

May the angels lead thee into Paradise; may the martyrs receive thee at thy coming, and take thee to Jerusalem, the Holy City. May the choirs of the angels receive thee; and mayest thou, with the once poor Lazarus, have rest everlasting.

Eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord,
And let perpetual light shine upon him.
May he rest in peace. Amen.

May his soul, and the souls of all the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace. Amen.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Thereupon, at 11 o'clock and 22 minutes a. m., the casket was borne from the Senate Chamber, and the service was concluded.

Proceedings
in the
United States Senate

Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *May 6, 1957.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father, God, to whom the darkness and the light are both alike: Thou seest what is in the darkness and the mysteries that lie beyond our dust. Surely man cometh up like a flower and is soon cut down; he never remaineth in one stay.

Again our hearts are solemnized as death once more has invaded this Chamber, where the will of free people is made known. That grim messenger has taken from our midst one in the zenith of his years. We call to remembrance this day the indefatigable energy, the hatred of atheistic tyranny, the uncowed courage, which were dedicated by the one whose seat is vacant, as he sounded forth a trumpet that must never know retreat, a trumpet of warning and alarm at the peril to our national heritage, from foes in our own household who plot to subvert our dearly bought liberties. We would dedicate ourselves anew with full purpose of heart, wherever we are called to stand in this decisive hour in the global struggle between the darkness and the light. Before we depart from this mortal stage, gird us to give our all as we strike our blow for the truth of God and the freedom of man. We ask it in the name of that One who is the truth and the way and the life. Amen.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, it is with deep regret that I make the formal announcement to the Senate of the death on Thursday, May 2, of our colleague the junior Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCARTHY.

As is the custom of the Senate, some time in the near future there will be set aside a day when all the Members of this body who will wish to speak in eulogy of our departed asociate may have the opportunity to do so.

For the present, I should like simply to recall a few facts concerning his life and to make a few brief observations concerning one who was among the more prominent Members of this body.

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY was born on November 14, 1908, on a farm in Grand Chute, Outagamie County, Wis.

In 1935 he graduated from the Law School of Marquette University.

In 1939 he became a circuit judge, the youngest in Wisconsin history.

In 1942–45, he served as intelligence officer with the Marine Corps in the Pacific. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with four Silver Stars.

In January 1947, he began his service in the United States Senate, after his election victory the previous November.

He was elected for the term beginning January 1953.

He departed this life last Thursday.

These are the bare facts of his life and career. But they do not begin to tell the story of all the events that he packed into his relatively brief span of existence. Literally millions of words have been printed in the press and spoken over the radio and television, and throughout the length and breadth of this land, since the news of his untimely death came.

Today we of the Senate joined reverently in a service in his honor. We united to pay our last respects to him whom fate has removed from the stage of life long before his time.

It is always a tragedy to see someone who is relatively so young leave this mortal scene. It is a particular misfortune when someone so vigorous, with such vitality, suffers premature death, leaving behind him, as in this instance, a young wife and infant child.

It is still too early to know the place which history will, in the long run, accord to him. For the moment, suffice it to say that he made a tremendous impression on the consciousness of the American people.

Commencing in 1950, he brought to the fore, and dramatized, an issue—the serious problem of Communist subversion—in a way that had never been done before, and has not been done since. Through all the maelstrom that followed, he carried on in his anti-Communist efforts with the same vigor that attached to every aspect of his career, whether it was service as a judge, in the Marine Corps, or as a Member of the United States Senate.

There was and is a vast number of Americans who held him, as they hold him now, in deepest affection, with a fervent sense of loyalty and admiration. Today, they feel a deep sense of personal loss.

Joseph R. McCarthy was a man of distinct and powerful personality. He was a man who aroused quick and fierce friendships and, admittedly, opposition, as well.

Yet, there is no one to doubt that he deeply loved this country, and would have given his life for it. He sought to serve this Republic in civilian life, as he had served it in uniform, to the best of his ability and to the utmost of his dynamic energy.

So, I join now with all those who knew him in expressing to his widow and to the other members of his family heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. President, I send to the desk resolutions and request their immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions (S. Res. 132) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

Resolved, That a committee of 24 Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased at Appleton, Wis.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The VICE PRESIDENT, under the second resolving clause, appointed the following Senators to constitute the committee on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator; Mr. Wiley, Mr. Johnson of Texas, Mr. Knowland, Mr. Chavez, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Eastland, Mr. McClellan, Mr. Capehart, Mr. Young, Mr. Jenner, Mr. Malone, Mr. Thye, Mr. Mundt, Mr. Schoeppel, Mr. Carlson, Mr. Butler, Mr. Dirksen, Mr. Goldwater, Mr. Ervin, Mr. Hruska, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Martin of Iowa, Mr. Revercomb, and Mr. Thurmond.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I should like to announce that at a future time, there will be set aside a period when all Members of the Senate will have an opportunity to eulogize our late colleague.

Mr. President, as acting majority leader, I should like to join the distinguished minority leader in extending condolences and sympathy to Mrs. McCarthy and their adopted child, and to the family of the Senator who reside in Wisconsin. I have faith to believe that in spite of the difficulties which have beset him on earth, he will find peace when he goes to meet his Maker.

JOE MCCARTHY has left us. Some of us were in disagreement with him on occasion, but all of us recognized him as a Senator from Wisconsin. It will not be too long when, in the course of events, all of us now in this Chamber will join our former colleague.

We are deeply sorry for his family. We know, of course, that in his way he did the best he possibly could to keep the affairs of this country on an even keel. We can only express the hope that at this time, as he goes to meet his Maker, his soul, and the souls of all the faithful departed, will rest in peace.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment until Wednesday next at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 14 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Wednesday, May 8, 1957, at 12 o'clock meridian.

WEDNESDAY, *May 8, 1957.*

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, JOE McCARTHY was a great American. He believed, as I do, that any man refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America, or any man who hid behind the fifth amendment when asked if he had ever been disloyal, did not belong on the public payroll.

Mr. President, the censure of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY by his colleagues, in the absence of an allegation that he had ever violated any rule of the United States Senate, was a very dangerous precedent. It was the first tangible move to destroy the investigative power of this great body. It was accomplished under an emotional strain, comparable to a war hysteria.

The precedent could not have been established under normal conditions. It is a dangerous precedent; and, if followed hereafter, any Member of this distinguished body can be censured when any other Member can be persuaded to submit a resolution looking to that end, provided the emotion and hysteria of the moment can be aroused to the point of securing the necessary majority vote on this floor.

Mr. President, the whole proceedings relating to the censure of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY should be expunged from the permanent Record; and to that end the senior Senator from Nevada will offer such a resolution, unless the sponsors of the movement in the first instance offer the resolution within a reasonable time.

DEBATE ON RESOLUTION OF CENSURE, NOVEMBER 16, 1954

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks I made on this floor on November 16, 1954, be printed in the Record, as a part of my remarks.

FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF NOVEMBER 16, 1954

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I have in my hand a copy of Senate Resolution 301, which reads as follows:

"*Resolved,* That the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MCCARTHY] failed to cooperate with the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in clearing up matters referred to that subcommittee which concerned his conduct as a Senator and affected the honor of the Senate and, instead, repeatedly abused the subcommittee and its members who were trying to carry out assigned duties, thereby obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate, and that this conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MCCARTHY] in failing to cooperate with a Senate committee in clearing up matters affecting the honor of the Senate is contrary to senatorial traditions and is hereby condemned.

"SEC. 2. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MCCARTHY] in conducting a senatorial inquiry intemperately abused, and released executive hearings in which he denounced, a witness representing the executive branch of the Government, Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, an officer of the United States Army, for refusing to criticize his superior officers and for respecting official orders and executive directives, thereby tending to destroy the good faith which must be maintained between the executive and legislative branches in our system of government; and the Senate disavows the denunciation of General Zwicker by Senator MCCARTHY as chairman of a Senate subcommittee and censures him for that action."

LETTER TO THE CHAIRMAN

Mr. President, on November 15, 1954, a member of the select committee to study censure charges against the junior Senator from Wisconsin addressed a letter to the chairman of the select committee, in which he said:

"UNITED STATES SENATE,
"SELECT COMMITTEE TO STUDY CENSURE CHARGES
"PURSUANT TO SENATE ORDER ON SENATE RESOLUTION 301,
"November 15, 1954.

"The Honorable ARTHUR V. WATKINS,
"Chairman, Select Committee To Study Censure Charges, United States Senate.

"MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The letter which Secretary Stevens wrote late Saturday, and which you delivered to me yesterday

(Sunday) afternoon, responding to the questions which I asked him at the conference in your office earlier Saturday afternoon, considered with the material in the two letters which he brought to your office, together with the prior evidence in the matter, convinces me that it would be wrong to censure Senator McCarthy on the second count—the Zwicker affair.

"Therefore, I shall not vote for it."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the part of the letter to the chairman from the distinguished Senator from South Dakota which I have marked in the margin be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the portion of the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"You recall that after reading the McCarthy letter which Secretary Stevens brought in Saturday, I asked: 'When was the letter actually received?' and 'What consideration was given to it?'

"After the conference, I reread not only the testimony before our committee on the Zwicker matter but also the original Peress testimony before Senator McCarthy in New York City. That hearing ended in New York City at noon on Saturday, January 30, on a quiet and sort of incidental question by Senator McCarthy, 'You haven't been asked to resign, have you?'

"A short exchange apparently alerted both parties and then a foot race began—by Peress on Monday, February 1, to get immediate action on his discharge, by McCarthy to get a court-martial instituted before Peress got out of the jurisdiction of the Army.

"Secretary Stevens gives the first positive evidence as far as I know that Senator McCarthy's letter of February 1, was delivered to his office by messenger that same Monday, and made known 'to the responsible Army staff.'

"Further, that it was reviewed—presumably against the information which General Zwicker relayed through his immediate superior, Chief of Staff, First Army, New York, the same Monday that Peress had asked for immediate discharge instead of the previously agreed upon date.

"Mr. Stevens' reply to my second question is that the McCarthy letter was then reviewed and that 'it was concluded that there was no additional evidence to require modification of the prior determination of the Peress case * * * and that the best interests of the United States would be served by his prompt separation.'

"So, the discharge was executed and Peress was released Tuesday afternoon, February 2. Mr. Stevens arrived in Washington on his trip back from Japan late on the afternoon of February 3.

"This proof that an Army staff at the Pentagon did decide to let Peress slip out of their grasp after the issue was directly and timely raised throws into new focus a whole set of dates and events prior to the Zwicker hearing. It goes far toward expanding Senator McCarthy's conduct on February 18, When Brigadier General Zwicker, the representative supplied by the Army under wraps was unable to pinpoint the persons responsible for giving more consideration to a request from a false-swearing Communist seeking to flee from the Army's jurisdiction than to a suggestion from the chairman of a Senate investigating committee that court-martial proceeding be immediately instituted."

PROVISION FOR CENSURE OR EXPULSION

Mr. Malone. Mr. President, the Constitution of the United States, in article I, section 5, provides that "each House may determine the rules of its procedure, punish its Members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member."

Mr. President, that is the only reference the Senator from Nevada is able to find in the Constitution of the United States relative to the censure or expulsion of a Member.

Mr. President, other than the charge relating to the "Zwicker affair" designated by the distinguished Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Case], there is left only the charge of abusing the subcommittee "and its members who were trying to carry out assigned duties, thereby obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate, and that this conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, in failing to cooperate with a Senate committee in clearing up matters affecting the honor of the Senate, is contrary to senatorial traditions and is hereby condemned."

Mr. President, I find no provision in the Constitution of the United States or in the rules of the Senate for any such procedure, granting, however, that the Senate, no doubt, by the required number of votes, can do anything it decides to do to a Member.

On November 8, 1954, at the beginning of this debate, the Senator from Nevada said on page 14718 of the Congressional Record, in a debate with the majority leader of the Senate:

"The Senator to whom the censure is directed is only a whipping boy. The objective is and has been to destroy the investigative power of the Senate."

A WHIPPING BOY

Mr. President, on November 12 the Senator from Nevada further stated in a debate with the distinguished majority leader, at page 14854 of the Congressional Record:

"The senior Senator from Nevada feels that the junior Senator from Wisconsin is merely the whipping boy in this procedure. He feels that the real objective from the very beginning has been to destroy the investigative power of this body.

"ESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLE—WHO IS NEXT

"By pinning the spotlight on a personality the public can be divided. You could not so easily divide public opinion on the principle involved.

"The present procedure or the next accusation, once the principle is established, could be the chairman of the Appropriations Committee [Mr. Bridges] or the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Administration [Mr. Jenner] or the distinguished majority leader."

Mr. President, if we are stepping out and beyond the Constitution of the United States and the rules of the Senate to censure conduct that does not seem proper to some Member of the Senate, it will be a very wide field, I promise the President of the Senate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record portions of the debate between the distinguished majority leader and the senior Senator from Nevada.

There being no objection, the portions of the debate were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"Mr. **Knowland**. I yield.

"Mr. **Malone**. I would state at this point that we are following the procedure of legislative bodies wherever dictatorships have been established.

"We are nibbling at the investigative power of the Senate by censuring any Senator who seeks to investigate any procedure or act, asking questions distasteful to a witness.

"NO ALLEGATION OF VIOLATION OF A SENATE RULE

"If the distinguished Senator from California will further yield, I will say that I have heard no accusation made on the floor of the Senate, or at the hearings, or at the time the allegations were filed, that the Senator on trial ever violated a rule of the Senate.

"I understand that the Senate is the judge of its own Members, and can decide whom it will seat in the Senate. The Senate could expel the senior Senator from California or the senior Senator from Nevada, if it so desired, if it had the votes with which to do it, regardless of the nature of the charges.

"NO CENSURE UNLESS A SENATE RULE VIOLATED

"However, the Senate has yet—over a period of 175 years—to set a precedent of censuring a Senator unless he has violated a rule of the Senate.

"Senators have been tried and censured—and they have faced expulsion, but no Senator has ever been censured except on an allegation and conviction that he violated an established rule of the Senate.

"Therefore, if we proceed in the matter before the Senate on the theory that we will later adopt a rule which the Senator in question would have violated if it had been a rule of the Senate at the time of the commission of the alleged act, that is quite another matter.

"There will be, I may say to the distinguished majority leader, some serious debate before any such proposed rule will be adopted in any case."

OUTSIDE CONSTITUTIONAL JURISDICTION OF THE SENATE

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, the select committee has recommended action by the Senate which, in the opinion of the senior Senator from Nevada, is clearly outside the constitutional jurisdiction of this body.

NO PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN WASHINGTON

Understand, Mr. President, that I have no feeling for or against the select committee. I believe it made a mistake, and I believe the Senate made a mistake in directing the committee by not specifying that the members of the committee should go home for a few weeks before holding hearings in Washington, because I believe, and have so stated on the Senate floor and elsewhere, that this is the most dangerous town in the United States of America to the United States of America, because there is no public opinion in Washington—there is no one here except the people who work for the Government or works for someone who works for the Government or the folks who sell something to someone who works for the Government.

So that if we are here more than three consecutive months without going home or associating with the producers of the Nation we think that what we are hearing is public sentiment.

There is no public sentiment in Washington. So that if the committee is to be censured for its action, the Senate must shoulder some of the blame for not specifying that they must go home for a few weeks and get their feet on the ground, thereby regaining their balance by association with the people who still revere and depend upon the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights, and who still believe in the dignity and the integrity of the United States Senate.

Typical of the wires and mail that I am receiving from my constituents in my State of Nevada is the wire received today from

Avery Stitser, publisher of the daily Humboldt Star at Winnemucca, Nev.:

"Re your letter November 13. Continue your fight for the enforcement of the cloture rule of the United States Senate. In this present debate, in my opinion, the Senate is working toward its own destruction. Am behind you in your endeavors to halt such destruction."

Mrs. Avery D. Stitser is a typical independent American editor of a newspaper in a farming, livestock, and mining area—her job is to inform the residents of Humboldt County, Nev., on local, national, and international affairs, and that she does in a very independent and thorough manner.

Avery Stitser is a typical editor of my State—she prints the news of the day, taking orders from no one.

CENSURE REPREHENSIBLE CONDUCT

The committee's conclusion in its consideration of category V, the Zwicker allegation, is that "the conduct of Senator McCARTHY toward General Zwicker was reprehensible."

It adds that "for this conduct he should be censured by the Senate."

What kind of conduct? Why, "reprehensible conduct," and reprehensible only.

Dictatorship may punish legislators for conduct which dictators consider reprehensible, but there is no provision in the Constitution of the United States that grants anyone that power.

The Constitution of the United States is specific on what ground either House may punish a Member. Article I, section 5, states that each House may punish its Members for disorderly behavior, and that is the only constitutional ground on which they can be punished by their colleagues.

NO FINDINGS OF DISORDERLY BEHAVIOR

The select committee made no allegation of disorderly behavior against Senator McCARTHY. It made no finding of disorderly behavior. It said, on the other hand, that in its opinion, the conduct of the junior Senator from Wisconsin in the Zwicker affair was "reprehensible" and that it was "not proper."

That is the allegation from which the distinguished Senator from South Dakota has now withdrawn his support; and I would not be surprised, if he went home for a little while, with the good people of South Dakota that he might take a different view of stifling the investigative power of the United States Senate.

I said a few days ago on this floor that even if some of us fail to express ourselves properly sometimes or fail to arrive at a proper conclusion on a national or international basis, or if we do not care to exercise our power on a particular subject, we ought to preserve that power for our successors, just as it has been handed down to us over a period of 175 years. It has never been impaired. Let us not be the first to destroy it.

Mr. President, nowhere is there any charge that the junior Senator from Wisconsin was guilty of "disorderly behavior," the only constitutional ground on which this body can punish a fellow Member.

I think I should amend that statement by saying that if we have the necessary votes we can expel any Member of the Senate, even the distinguished majority leader or the distinguished minority leader.

CANNOT BE RETROACTIVE

Conceivably, if the precedent is once set, that might even be done, because I understand there is a committee working on the rules of the Senate that would make practically every Senator the judge of a breach of a personal-conduct rule by any other Senator. If we pass such a rule, and I greatly doubt we shall, because nearly everyone will go home before we come back in January and possibly rearrange his perspective—and even if we should use the poor judgment to pass such a rule, thus further destroying the investigative power of the Senate, there is nothing in the law or in the Constitution or in the rules of the Senate that would allow any such rule to be retroactive.

Mr. President, if we should set such a precedent, we shall have gone a long way toward a new concept, a Prussian concept, a Praetorian Guard concept, a totalitarian concept, in which Senators must speak softly, obsequiously, and servilely, must bootlick, if you please, any officer of high rank from whom information is sought in performance of our legislative functions.

We shall have abdicated our legislative independence to the military. I do not believe that even the great bulk of our fine military officers want that. They do not want to be coddled, either, unless the officers in the military have changed a great deal since World War I, when the senior Senator from Nevada enlisted as a private and finally was made an officer and was given men to command. We did not ask for quarter, nor did we give much. At that time, if we violated a rule, if we violated a military concept, there was prompt retribution. There was no time to do anything about it. Those were the days when a sergeant came up from the ranks because he ought to be a sergeant, because men respected him for his power or understanding of personality, not because he had passed an examination somewhere.

The report of the select committee cites testimony that General Zwicker used the expression "You s. o. b.," with reference to Senator McCarthy—and I do not think, Mr. President, from the context, that he meant Senate Office Building.

There is other evidence in the report that General Zwicker was antagonistic to the junior Senator from Wisconsin long in advance of the hearings to which he was called. The select committee does not however, find this reprehensible. Its only criticism is against Senator McCarthy.

On the basis of the select committee's own findings, there is no constitutional warrant whatsoever for censure of the junior Senator from Wisconsin, who has violated no law or rule of the Senate, and who certainly has not been guilty or charged with being guilty of disorderly behavior.

MOVE TO TABLE

Mr. President, if an agreement can be had with the majority leader that the Senate might meet on Saturday morning next, at that time, whenever the senior Senator from Nevada can obtain the floor, he will move to table Senate Resolution 301. If it is not possible to reach an agreement to have the Senate meet on Saturday morning, then at any time on Friday when the senior Senator from Nevada can obtain the floor, he will move to table Senate Resolution 301.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, with a heavy heart I turn to the subject which I wish to discuss.

Reference has been made on the floor of the Senate today to a prospective proposal to offer a resolution to expunge from the official records of the Senate in action, taken by the Senate in regard to the so-called McCarthy case.

I believe that when the hand of God is placed upon the shoulder of a colleague, we should leave him before the bar of the judgment of God. I believe that a great disservice would be performed to the history of the Senate if it were proposed to expunge from the Record the chapter of American history involved in the McCarthy censure resolution.

I am perfectly willing to let history be the judge of the course of action taken by the Senate in this matter. As one of the participants in that course of action, let me say that in my judgment the Senate acted in no spirit of hysteria, but judiciously, upon the record, upon the facts, and rightly. Therefore, I trust that the Senate will not be thrown into a debate over this matter when the person involved is no longer here to defend himself. He is before God; and I suggest that the Senate of the United States leave him before the throne of God.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the Record a statement which I have prepared on the passing of our late colleague, Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

The flag above the United States Capitol is flying at half staff today.

This is not an altogether infrequent sight in Washington, but it is always a sobering one.

A Senator is dead.

It has been appropriately observed that, for every man, there is "a time to live and a time to die."

Some men, perhaps, are not really right for the age of their existence. Some, perhaps, are simply born too late or too soon, and even in death their presence is untimely.

All death, of course, even that which is rather expected for understandable causes, seems to the living to be a tragedy.

Our religious faith teaches us otherwise: that in death we pass beyond the mortal toil of this vale of tears and enter into eternal life. Some religions even accept the dogma that life is merely a preparation for death.

Certainly, to dispel the anguish of a moment of loss, this is a comforting reflection.

JOE MCCARTHY had his "time to live" and he lived well. Now has come his "time to die."

The question raised by his unusual personality in life will be argued long beyond his death. Some may even not agree that he was a man well suited to meet the challenges of his day.

Yet, the fact remains that, by the very uniqueness of his career, he carved a niche in history that would never have been put there save for the courage, determination, and stamina of JOE MCCARTHY.

It is of no consequence whether we agree with what a man seeks to do, or how he does it. The true criterion is why a man does what he does—the convictions which motivate and inspire his efforts.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

Senator McCarthy was a fervently loyal and faithful American. In that respect, he was far more to be commended than those he attacked, or even than some of his severest critics.

The foreign press calls him "vicious," "evil," and suggests that America will be a "cleaner" land now that he is gone.

It is difficult to know what such words mean. He was, first of all, a human being. Then, he was an American. Do they abuse him for that?

The foreign press also calls him an obstructionist to foreign aid. How twisted can reason and values become?

Senator McCarthy was an American. He loathed the enemies of America. He fought jealously to achieve a primary recognition for the rights of America.

In the sight of God, he will occupy a place no better—but, surely, no worse—than that which is accorded to all good men who fight for the rights they adore.

He was neither saint nor sinner, genius nor fool, martyr nor tyrant. He was an American, and a United States Senator who represented his State and the Nation as well as he knew how. If that was not good enough for some, there are certainly others to whom his service was far more desirable than that which would have been dispatched by the subversive elements whom he ferreted out of our Government.

Do not mourn Joe McCarthy. Be thankful that he lived, at the right time, and according to the talents vested in him by his Maker.

Be grateful, too, that when it came his time to die, he passed on with the full assurance that, because he lived, America is a brighter, safer, more vigilant land today.

# Memorial Services
for
Joseph Raymond McCarthy

Eighty-fifth Congress
First Session

Memorial Services

⁂

WEDNESDAY, *August 14, 1957.*

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Curtis in the chair). The hour of 12 o'clock noon having arrived, the Senate, pursuant to Senate Resolution 178, agreed to on the 8th of this month, will now proceed with the delivery of memorial addresses on the life, character, and public service of the late Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, of Wisconsin.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Wiley] is recognized.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, an American philosopher has said human existence is but a kindergarten course in life.

Another has said the spiritual man is the expression of eternal life. The spiritual man never ceases to live; he is deathless, having been molded by the hand of his Maker.

Mr. President, on Monday last, memorial services were held for one who had served as a Senator for 34 years, Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia. Today we gather in memorial services for another who served among us as a Senator for 10½ years.

One lived to be 78 years, the other, unfortunately, but 48 years. Both had been State court judges before coming to the Senate. Both were men of strong minds.

Both differed from one another, and from other Members of the Senate. Each was an individualist, as I shall describe. One came from the South; the other from the Midwest.

I had personally served closely with the one on the Foreign Relations Committee; with the other as representing the same great State.

Thus, as senior Senator from Wisconsin, it became my duty, following the passing of my former colleague, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, to inform the Senate on May 6 of the news of his untimely death.

I first became acquainted with Senator McCarthy in 1944, when he opposed me in the primary. He was then an officer in the Marines—young, handsome, and vital.

Then, as in the dramatic years that followed, he was a man of energy, of determination, of vigor, who had risen by dint of his own efforts.

In January 1947, he was elected to the Senate. Subsequently, in his famous address in Wheeling, W. Va., on February 9, 1950, he first captured the attention of the Nation.

The shocking Hiss case, at about that time, had aroused the country, just as within the past few weeks, with the arrest of a Soviet colonel in counterintelligence, we have once more been grimly reminded of the Communist menace within our midst.

In 1953 my colleague became chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, and with the chairmanship came the hearings which were reported the length and breadth of this Nation, and throughout the world. All his energy and attention were devoted to the mounting demands of the hearings. All over the Nation there was heated and often bitter discussion about those hearings. Now, however, they are history.

In the days and months which have followed since Senator McCarthy's passing, vast numbers of words have been spoken about him in the public press, over radio, television, and in many public forums. Even now, however, it is still too early to define the place in history which my departed colleague will take.

But there is none to dispute that in the hearts of those of his family whom he left behind—his devoted wife, his infant daughter, members of his immediate family and relatives, and his hard-working staff—his place is forever established.

Throughout the land, large numbers of Americans who identified themselves strongly with him still feel the strength of his convictions, and they remain true in their devotion to him.

Moreover, with the lapse of time, many men no doubt understand in clearer perspective the impact of his unique personality in this unique Chamber, of which we are privileged to be Members. Some people sometimes speak as if all 96 Members of the Senate should be of 1 mold, 1 personality, 1 type of interest. The late junior Senator from Wisconsin was an individualist in a Chamber of individualists.

In a body which devotes itself basically to legislation, he found a particular interest in the field of investigation. And in many other ways, he was unique in his interests and his talents.

There is a vital role to be fulfilled by individualists, and the role of the investigator, as such, is an important role for a Member of the Senate. My late colleague was one of the strong-willed personalities which make the United States Senate the distinctive body that it is.

I, for one, hope that with the passing of time there will be an increased understanding, a lessening of the controversies which for so long swirled around my late colleague. I hope that time will bring a healing of old wounds; that it will bring a remembrance of the good, the constructive, and the enduring.

"Joe," as he was known to one and all, was a man of quick friendships and—yes, it must be admitted—of quick enemies. But he was informal, candid, and direct, a man of ready amiability but deep-seated views.

Through all the years of our association in the Senate, I say very frankly that I really never became familiar in great detail with him. He had his friends; I had mine. In many respects, his philosophy differed from mine. But by and large, we got along very well, applying the American concept that each had the right to his own views.

Joe McCarthy fought hard for his convictions. He was a battling marine and a battling United States Senator. He gave everything he had to those battles.

Now we of the Senate pause in our activities to pay respect to his memory. We recall not only his battles but his personality, his friendships and loyalties, and all that complex of factors which made up his brief but crowded, eventful life.

In a little less than 2 weeks the people of Wisconsin will go to the polls to elect the successor to the late junior Senator from Wisconsin.

We of the Badger State will remember then, as we of the Senate remember today, that the late junior Senator from Wisconsin was genuinely, patriotically devoted to this Nation, to its flag, to its interests, as he saw them; to its welfare, as he felt it; to its future, as he interpreted it—with all the strength of his convictions.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, it is always a solemn occasion in the activities of the Senate of the United States when Members of this body stand to pay their last respects to one of our departed colleagues. It is a particularly difficult occasion when we commemorate, as we do here today, the remembrance of one who departed from this life and from this Chamber, on May 2, while he was in the prime of life.

Mr. President, the Story of Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy was a typically American one.

He was born in Grand Chute, Wis., November 14, 1908; attended the Underhill country school; worked on a farm, and later started his own chicken farm; at the age of 19, moved to Manawa, and enrolled in Little Wolf High School, while working in a grocery store and ushering at a theater in the evenings, completing a 4-year course in 1 year; in 1930, entering Marquette University, at Milwaukee, Wis., to study engineering, but later transferred to the law department, and graduated in 1935; was admitted to the bar in the same year, and commenced practice in Waupaca; in 1936, moved to Shawano, Wis., and continued the practice of his chosen profession; was elected circuit judge of the 10th judicial circuit of Wisconsin in 1939, and, while serving in this capacity, enlisted, in 1942, as a private in the United States Marine Corps.

I think that Joe McCarthy was as proud of his service in the Marines and of the Marine Corps as he was of anything in his life.

He was later commissioned lieutenant and served 30 months on active duty, with 19 months in the South Pacific area. He was an unsuccessful candidate for United States Senator in 1944, while in military service. He was reelected circuit judge of Wisconsin in 1945, while still in the Marine Corps. He was elected, as a Republican, to the United States Senate in 1946 and reelected in 1952.

In my judgment, Joe McCarthy was a courageous American whose Irish background and religious convictions could not leave him complacent in meeting a challenge which all our people agree represents a continuing and constant threat to our American way of life. He challenged us to pursue an effective course in meeting the menace which faces us still after he has gone, the menace to freemen in free societies born of the godless international Communist tyranny. It was against this menace to freemen everywhere that my colleague, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, devoted his efforts and, indeed, his life.

He sought to alert what he felt was a large body of uninformed or apathetic people to the deadly danger confronting our country.

Some complain that in debate his tactics were rough. Senator McCarthy, if he were here, would not deny this. He would point out, however, that in dealing with international communism we are confronting a system that does not hesitate to liquidate millions of non-Communists by starvation, firing squads, or a bullet in the back of the head in the cellars of the NKVD.

He was shocked when he discovered that those who had the power and bore the responsibility in several instances ignored the facts of espionage and Communist infiltration when they had documentation from the highest and most responsible investigative agency in the executive branch.

Quieter and less spectacular figures had presented facts only to have them treated as "red herrings." They had warned of dangers abroad only to be told to "wait for the dust to settle."

Joe McCarthy has gone. He died at 48, in the prime of life. The danger to our Nation and the free world remains. I cannot help but believe that he will be satisfied if we as a people do not again fall into a state of complacency or let our guards down when dealing with the most godless tyranny the world has ever known.

Senator Joe McCarthy was not the first and, I pray, will not be the last to warn of the dangers to our society that are inherent in the philosophy of peaceful coexistence with the followers of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev. Although Joe McCarthy has gone, the danger to our Nation and the free world remains. He has departed from us to confront One whose judgment is infinitely superior to the judgment of those who in recent years have either praised him or criticized him.

Some of the columnists, cartoonists, and public figures painted Joe McCarthy as a tough and unreasonable man. Those of us who saw him in his home and with his family and friends know that he was kindly, genial, and had a forgiving disposition even toward those he felt had been unfair to him.

My heartfelt sympathy goes out again at this time to his wife Jean, his infant daughter Tierney, to the other members of his family, and to the people of the great State of Wisconsin.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, it is always sad when a colleague passes away. It is doubly sad when that colleague is a young man of vitality and of force, a man who is capable of moving his fellow man.

JOE McCARTHY—and he was "JOE" to everyone who knew him—was compounded of many elements. He had strength. He had great courage. He had daring. JOE McCARTHY had a rare quality which enabled him to touch the hearts and the minds of millions of his fellow men.

JOE McCARTHY lived in the midst of one of the greatest controversies of our time. He, himself, was the center of controversy, and he had the zest for combat of his Irish ancestors.

Many times JOE McCARTHY walked a long and lonely road. As he was judged by his fellow men, some regarded him with adulation and some with hatred. But one thing that can never be disputed is that the name of JOE McCARTHY will never be forgotten. There was a quality about the man which compelled respect, and even liking, from his strongest adversaries.

Some of us frequently disagreed with him, but few of us could ever honestly say that we were not touched by his personality.

There was one great, warm comfort in his final days. It was the presence of a lovely lady, intensely loyal and always intensely devoted—his wife Jean.

JOE McCARTHY will be judged by history, and by a Higher Power that none of us should or could question.

Today, on behalf of Lady Bird and myself, I wish to express deep sympathy to Jean, to his family, and to the great State which gave him the privilege of serving in this body.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, a resolution unanimously adopted on July 22 by our Republican conference was placed in the Congressional Record by me on July 22. It ably portrays our feelings toward our late colleague, JOE McCARTHY.

His untimely death shocked the people of the United States. It shocked us all because of the significant and telling part he had played in the affairs of the Nation and the world in the struggle against international communism. History in the days to come will record that influence, but we who are here now realize how his untiring efforts sapped his strength.

He was proud of his experience as a fighting marine. That service, too, took much of his vitality in later life; but it was another evidence of his courage.

As a colleague, he was always friendly, an interesting companion and an outspoken champion of the causes he espoused. I miss him and my sympathy goes out to his wife Jean and their daughter. Mrs. Saltonstall and I admire her for the courageous and dignified manner she has carried on without her JOE.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, as one of those who voted against JOE MCCARTHY in the sad Senate proceedings of 1954, I rise to pay him this personal tribute of affection.

I sincerely respected JOE for his loyalty to his deepest convictions and the outstanding part he played in calling attention to the dangers of communism in America.

I admired and respected him for his devotion to his church of which he was a sincere and devoted member. The clearcut and uncomprising position of the Catholic Church in the United States and throughout the world against the insidious spread of atheistic communism is one of the inspiring chapters in the history of Christian civilization.

My difference with JOE was not a difference of faith or purpose. It was a difference in procedures.

Mr. President, I want to remember JOE as a crusader for those Christian principles in which he believed and as a personal friend for whom I had the deepest affection.

My wife joins me in extending the deepest sympathy to his beloved wife and their daughter.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, the biographical facts concerning Joe McCarthy are well known, and have been recited many times by Members of the Senate and members of the press.

I rise on this occasion to pay tribute to Joe McCarthy primarily because of two basic qualities in his character which, it seems to me, were outstanding.

The first of those I would indicate as being his intense sense of loyalty.

The second is the fact that he was a man of unquestionable courage. I think we can look at any phase of Joe McCarthy's career at any time and be impressed by the qualities of loyalty and courage which he so clearly demonstrated and manifested.

First of all, Joe McCarthy was loyal to his country. He demonstrated that, not alone by his service in the Senate, but preceding that service, by his service to the people of the State of Wisconsin, and by his service to the people of America generally as a member of the fighting marines.

Long before I had come to know Joe McCarthy personally, and a Member of the Senate as well as a fellow committee member—I served with him on two committees, the Committee on Appropriations and the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its tempestuous little subcommittee, the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations—I had heard about Joe McCarthy from a great citizen of my State, its present governor, Joe Foss.

Joe Foss was also a marine. He wore the highest decorations the Government can give to one of the outstanding members of the Marine Corps. He was an outstanding ace in World War II.

Joe Foss had told me many times about his services in the Far Pacific alongside a Wisconsin Senator by the name of Joe McCarthy. He told me how Joe had gone far beyond the line of duty. He left the ground to fly in fighting planes, in order to acquire the information he thought was necessary to enable him to discharge the functions to which he was assigned by his superior officers in the Marine Corps.

JOE McCARTHY's loyalty to the United States has never been questioned by his bitterest enemies. JOE McCARTHY was loyal to his convictions; and he had firm convictions.

One of his abiding convictions was the conviction which most of us—and I hope all of us—share, that is, that so long as there is abroad in the world the aggressive force of militaristic, atheistic, imperialistic communism, none of the freedoms which we cherish in this country can be considered safe.

Being a man of action, JOE McCARTHY determined to do something, to the best of his abilities and in accordance with his lights, to weaken communism abroad and at home, and to strengthen the forces of freedom on this continent, in the last great bastion of hope if communism is to be defeated.

JOE McCARTHY was loyal to his friends, loyal to the members of his staff, and loyal to his associates in the Senate. Many times he placed himself in positions of controversy and difficulty in defense of friends of his, who, in turn, had rendered services which he thought were outstanding to his country or to a common cause.

Indicative of JOE McCARTHY's loyalty to his staff is the fact that the members of it still serve at the office formerly occupied by the junior Senator from Wisconsin. I have noticed that this staff, long after JOE has gone, still works far into the night, carrying on the functions of his office, answering the many letters which have come to the office by the tens of thousands, in praise and in tribute of JOE, and in carrying on to the best of its capacity the functions of that senatorial office, as it seeks to continue its service to the people of Wisconsin.

The staff includes such persons as Ray Kiermas, Dick Omelia, and Mary Driscoll, and others, who demonstrate the fact that they loyalty to JOE grew out of the fact that he was always intensely loyal to them in the work they did for such long hours and at such great personal sacrifice during the turbulent days when he was engaged so vigorously in the fight against communism.

Mr. President, JOE McCARTHY was loyal to the Senate. He felt the Senate was a great institution, an independent branch of Congress, not to become a rubberstamp of the Supreme Court, not to become a rubberstamp of the executive branch of the Government, but a body which was to make its own determinations and its own decisions. He was loyal to the men who served in the Senate, and his loyalty to the Senate never wavered, even at a time when he felt in his heart the Senate had turned its back on him in an hour of trouble. I believe he remained loyal to the Senate to the end of his life.

Finally, Mr. President, JOE McCARTHY was loyal to the Republican Party. At great personal cost to himself he campaigned the length and breadth of this land on behalf of fellow Republicans who he thought merited election to high office. He entered State and local campaigns on behalf of many candidates, because he believed in the concepts and principles embraced in the history and record of the Republican Party.

Concerning JOE McCARTHY's personal courage, his courage, in peace and in war, was characteristic of his fighting Irish personality. JOE McCARTHY was a tough antagonist in conflict, whether it was military conflict, or forensic conflict, or ideological conflict, or a clash of personalities.

In any conflict, JOE McCARTHY neither asked nor gave quarter. Many times he took positions in situations when it would have been easier for him to be silent. Motivated as he was by that pervading courage, he sought to strike out against anyone he thought to be wrong and to defend those who he thought were right.

As one of the large senatorial delegation which went to Wisconsin on the occasion of his funeral at Appleton, I could not help be impressed, not only by the vast size of the crowd who came to pay tribute to him on that occasion, but by the genuine affection in which JOE McCARTHY was held by the people of his own town and of his home State.

As has been said earlier today, JOE McCARTHY received great encouragement and completely loyal support and devotion from his lovely wife Jean, and, during the closing days of his life, great solace from his infant daughter Tierney.

Mr. President, there are occasions when men get to know each other better than on other occasions. Sometimes it is at a fishing camp, when it rains all day, and the men are closed up within the four walls of the fishing camp. Then one gets to know pretty well his companions on the fishing trip.

Sometimes we get to know people pretty well on a duck pass, or while sitting all day under an overturned boat, trying to keep the rain water from washing down one's neck.

I believe one can also get to know a man pretty well when one serves on a committee which is under the constant drum fire of a large segment of the American press and radio. Anyone who has served on a committee of Congress, whether in the House or in the Senate, which is charged with the responsibility of exposing communism, recognizes that from the very start of the investigation there is bound to be a bitter attack on the investigation by a certain segment of the so-called leftwing press of the country. That attack is bound to be unfair, and it is bound to be constant. It is going to be bitter, and it is going to come from every direction. Therefore, when one serves on a committee with a man like JOE McCARTHY, or any other Member of the Senate or House, which committee is charged with the responsibility of exposing communism, it is not necessary to serve very long, and it is not necessary to engage in many investigations, before one learns the caliber of those with whom one is associated.

Mr. President, I had, for a number of years, the responsibility of serving with JOE McCARTHY on the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations which was charged in part with the responsibility of exposing Communist activities. He and all of us were subjected to that kind of attack. I know something about how JOE McCARTHY reacted. I know that he met those attacks head on, and that he elected to fight back with everything he had against those who were fighting him with everything they had.

In doing that he made a great circle of enemies, because he refused to quit, he refused to surrender, he refused to yield, but, instead, elected to strike back at those who had struck at him.

I came to respect his fighting qualities which kept him in the ring. I came to respect the fighting qualities which induced him to make some of the excessive statements of which some of his enemies complained. Mr. President, this was a battle for keeps, and the very efforts and the very methods he used helped to dramatize a situation concerning which far too many Americans had already been lulled to sleep.

It is only necessary to read the news reports of the last 2 months to recognize that JOE McCARTHY was dramatizing a situation which badly needed to be emphasized. The startling spy stories relating to the disclosures being made by the FBI during the last 60 days indicate that JOE McCARTHY was not whipping a dead horse, and that he was not discovering strawmen under beds. He was talking about the Communist espionage apparatus which is working in America today. He was talking about a Communist imperialistic program which is in existence all over the world and which needs the best attention of all free men, and all our best talents, in order to protect us against it.

All of us owe JOE McCARTHY a great debt of gratitude for the fact that he did help focus, through a considerable period of time, the attention of a great many Americans, and the attention of people in many other countries of the world, to the fact that communism is here and needs to be destroyed and cannot be ignored, and that communism must be fought with different types of rules than can be used in fighting against the ordinary type of conspiracy or the ordinary type of criminal groups which seek to destroy America. As JOE used to like to say, "You have got to fight a snake differently from the way you pet a cat."

Mr. President, I pay my tribute to JOE MCCARTHY for the work he did, and shall leave to history an evaluation of his gallant service where it can find its place in the niches of the Archives of our Nation.

On behalf of Mary and myself, I extend to Jeannie, Tierney, and Mrs. Carr, and to all the relatives of JOE MCCARTHY, our deepest sympathy. We were proud to consider JOE MCCARTHY and Jeannie McCarthy as our friends.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, with the passing of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, the Senate of the United States and the Nation have sustained a tremendous loss.

Perhaps, as has no other American in our day, he sensed the danger of international communism and its devious ways of infiltrating into organizations of all kinds—yes, even in the topmost level of our Government. Like all of us, Senator MCCARTHY made some mistakes. The good he has accomplished, however, far overshadows any mistakes he may have made.

JOE MCCARTHY was a dynamic, intelligent, colorful, sincere, and honest public official. His youthful years spent on a farm in a rural community in Wisconsin had much to do, I believe, with the shaping of his future life. As is so typical of the rural people with whom he grew up, he was intensely patriotic and had no patience with those who would compromise in the slightest with any element which he thought was detrimental to the best interests of his country. More than anyone else, he brought to our people a consciousness of the real menace that faced our Nation. Largely because of his efforts, the United States averted some of the tragic mistakes made by other nations.

Mr. President, it was my privilege to attend Senator McCarthy's funeral in his hometown of Appleton, Wis. There I gained a better understanding of Joe McCarthy, after visiting with his closest neighbors and friends and learning something of his childhood experiences and environment. While Senator McCarthy fought fiercely and to the bitter end for any cause in which he believed, he was still a kindly and deeply religious person.

Few men in public life in America ever enjoyed the great esteem and admiration in which he was held by the people who knew him best—those of his home community. I shall always consider it an honor and a privilege to have been closely associated with this great American.

Mr. President, I extend my profound sympathy to his good and devoted wife, Jean, and their little daughter, Tierney.

Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senate to the fact that other citizens and other groups have paid their respects to Senator McCarthy, and that many of these tributes have appeared in the Congressional Record during the past 2 months. The Record contains resolutions passed by State legislatures and city councils, resolutions of national organizations, newspaper and magazine articles and editorials from all over the land, all applauding Senator McCarthy's work and commending him for his vigorous and self-sacrificing fight against our country's enemies. I consider it particularly significant that so many State legislatures and city councils have expressed themselves on this subject. Members of those bodies are, after all, extremely close to the people.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that we will earn the gratitude of Senator McCarthy's friends, of the historians of the future, and of others who may take inspiration from his career if we make all these commentaries readily available.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to Senator McCarthy—a man whom I considered to be a great American.

I did not know Joe McCarthy personally until I came to the Senate in 1955. He was friendly and cordial to me at all times, and soon a bond of fellowship grew up between us. I felt a personal loss in his death.

Senator McCarthy was an advocate of Americanism and a foe of everything smacking of un-Americanism. Just as he served in the Armed Forces during World War II with courage and patriotism, so did he serve his country for more than 10 years in the United States Senate with ability and distinction.

He probably did more to call the dangers of communism to the attention of the average American citizen than any other person in an official or unofficial capacity. He made Americans conscious of the fact that communism is not only a foreign ideology but that it is also a real and present threat to our Government and our way of life. He made them realize that subversion had been refined into a science of destruction by the Communists, and that eternal vigilance was the price Americans must continue to pay for the protection of this Nation.

Even while performing such a gigantic service on behalf of this country, Senator McCarthy was often subjected to attacks as vicious as were ever launched against a public official in this country. But he was faithful to his duty as he visualized it. The attacks did not deter his efforts to arouse America to fight against the evil of communism.

When I think of Senator McCarthy and the trials he endured to carry on the fight in which he believed, I cannot but recall the words of Christ which were recorded in the 11th and 12th verses of the 5th chapter of St. Matthew. In those verses, Christ said:

> Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

Mr. President, Joe McCarthy was a young man when death ended his career in public life. But he will be long remembered, and the future will honor him more than he has been honored in the past or the present. History holds a place for dedicated public servants, and Joe McCarthy was devoted to a cause on behalf of the people of this Nation.

I cannot stop without saying a word of comfort to Senator McCarthy's lovely and devoted wife, Jean. I am sure that her love and devotion inspired him, and gave him comfort in his darkest moments, thus enabling him to continue to fight for his beliefs when things seemed worst.

Mrs. McCarthy should be comforted in her loss by the realization that her husband placed duty above all else. Joe McCarthy could have chosen other courses, but he chose the hard course of doing his duty as he saw it.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, it is with sad hearts that we, the colleagues of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, speak in memory of him.

Millions of Americans followed the career of Joe McCarthy. They said to themselves: "Here is a man with convictions, here is a man who believes in America and everything it stands for. Here is a man who hates his country's enemies. Here is a man who is a fighter for the things in which he believes."

Volumes have been written about the official acts of our late and beloved friend. His official acts were for the lasting good of our Republic. Today I wish to speak briefly on the personal side of the life of Senator McCarthy. Prior to my election to the Senate in 1954 I had a speaking acquaintance with Senator McCarthy, but it was not my privilege to know him. It was after I had the privilege of working with him that I became acquainted with Joe McCarthy, the man.

As a member of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, I worked closely with him. There I found him to be friendly, soft-spoken, kindly, and courteous. He had affection for his friends. He was interested in them, and he was interested in their families and their children. He wanted to be helpful to his colleagues. When the present Congress was organized, Senator McCarthy insisted that he give up his ranking minority place on the committee and that I take it. There was no reason why he should do this other than that he wanted to. He felt it would be of help to me.

One also learned to know the real Joe McCarthy by visiting him in his home. It was a thrill to see him take his little daughter, Tierney, in his arms and show her to his friends. Little Tierney was more than his pride and joy. She was a great part of his life. She was the center of his hopes and dreams and his plans for the future.

Our words of sympathy, encouragement, and praise go to Mrs. Jean McCarthy. Her interest, devotion, and loyalty were great factors in the effective work of our departed friend. She shared his joys and his sorrows, his triumphs and his disappointments. She shared his love and dreams for little Tierney. The invitation for little Tierney to come into their home and be a part of the McCarthy family is typical of Senator and Mrs. McCarthy. It speaks a praise far greater than I can put into mere words.

Our thought and our prayers go to Mrs. McCarthy and Tierney for all the days that lie ahead.

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, when the record of these difficult times has gone into history and the ominous shadow of communism no longer darkens the world, the name of Senator Joseph McCarthy will be inscribed high on the list of those who fought for human dignity—for the sanctity and freedom of the individual.

Joe McCarthy will long be remembered as one whose first objective was to protect the American Republic and our free institutions from the poison spread by Communist conspirators within our midst.

More than any other man, in or out of official life, he alerted the American people to the dangers of the alien doctrine which seeks to undermine and destroy all we hold sacred here in the United States.

Of course he made enemies. Everyone who has been aggressive and militant against communism has been the victim of vicious and unrelenting attacks launched by followers of the Communist philosophy. JOE McCARTHY was no exception, and I call it one of his great virtues that he fought on with all his strength, courage, and vigor.

Senator McCARTHY was the youngest of a group of 17 Republicans who came to the United States Senate together in the 80th Congress. In point of years, I was the senior.

In this group were Raymond Baldwin, of Connecticut; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; James Kem, of Missouri; Zales Ecton, of Montana; and Harry Cain, of Washington.

Others, who are still serving with distinction in this body, are Senators Ralph Flanders, of Vermont; Henry Dworshak, of Idaho; John Williams, of Delaware; William Jenner, of Indiana; Edward Thye, of Minnesota; George Malone, of Nevada; Irving Ives, of New York; John Bricker, of Ohio; Arthur Watkins, of Utah; and John Sherman Cooper, of Kentucky.

As a member of this closely associated group, I had my first contacts with Senator McCARTHY. We met once a week, for lunch or dinner. In these meetings we debated proposed legislation and many other matters having to do with the welfare of our country. Some were not far removed from their service in the Armed Forces in World War II. In our discussions the rising menace of communism was the frequent subject of discussion.

In one of our early meetings, some of my colleges were kind enough to comment favorably on some rather pointed remarks I had made to a meeting of war veterans who had been misled into the Communist Party. These remarks were inserted in the Congressional Record by my distinguished friend, the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Cooper], and I can say in all modesty, that my lesson in Americanism, delivered to these misguided young men, attracted worldwide attention.

I hope you will pardon this personal reference, Mr. President, but I like to think that my words made a deep impression on Senator McCarthy and had a part—perhaps only a small part—in arousing the militant spirit which he sought to expose the evil workings of communism and to crush its destructive influence.

Joe McCarthy has been called by divine providence to eternal rest. We mourn his untimely passing. To his lovely and gracious wife, Charity and I extend our deepest sympathy, with our prayer that she may find solace in the honored memory of a patriotic American who served his country and the world with unsurpassed courage.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, few men in the history of this Nation have been criticized more harshly than our late colleague Joseph McCarthy, even to the point of censure; but I have never heard his patriotism, his family devotion, or his religious faith questioned or challenged.

These, indeed, are qualities of man to be cherished and remembered as we participate in this memorial to one who was twice elected by the people of a great American State to represent them in the Senate of the United States.

I deeply regret his untimely death, before there was time historically to evaluate his deeds. Meanwhile, it should be our purpose to seek understanding.

In appraising mankind, we do not expect to find perfection. But this can be said: Men of action exercise influence, and history is made by men with fighting spirit. Joe McCarthy was both.

Who knows the ways of providence? The sequence of events often surprise us. Frequently history is made with a mixture of necessity and liberty. Could it be that the great objectives of his principal work required practices he deplored?

Life itself is full of contradictions. It creates and destroys. It gathers and scatters. It affirms and denies; and it exalts and humbles.

Certainly, no one among us is entitled to crush all others. Each of us has something to learn from them. But it is necessary for us to remain true to our ideals, and to fight for our convictions. In a nation such as ours, there is a place for all.

No one can deny that JOSEPH McCARTHY made errors of judgment. But, by the same token, no one can deny that he had a sincerity of purpose in undertaking to expose Communists at a time when some of those in power were not so alert to the great dangers of communism as they should have been.

There is no doubt that he transgressed the rules of the United States Senate. But, on the other hand, many Senators had a personal affection, as well as an admiration, for him.

For myself, I shall always remember and treasure our association and friendship.

He was courageous; he was deeply sincere in his ultimate purposes; and he had a great loyalty to his friends.

We must always have dynamic men among us; there will always be a mass of passive men to provide the filter for their excesses. JOE McCARTHY was such a dynamic man. I am certain that his objective was to prevent our enemy from becoming our master. He has surrendered his soul to the Author of his soul, and I wish to pay my respects to him as an American who fought to preserve in his fashion what he believed to be the true principles of Americanism.

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, today the Senate of the United States has seen fit to lay aside its legislative duties and to pay tribute to the memory of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin.

Many things have been said about Joe. Running through all the comments, made in his time, is the inference that Senator McCarthy was a "controversial" man. It has been said that this is perhaps the most ingenious approach which his enemies used in attempting to destroy him.

Mr. President, if honesty is controversial, then in truth, Joe was controversial, because he told the truth as he saw it.

If love of country is controversial, again the Senator from Wisconsin was guilty, because he dearly loved America and he was willing to pay any price in its behalf.

If love of God and implacable, uncompromising opposition to atheistic international communism is controversial, then again the late Senator from Wisconsin erred.

If indomitable courage in the face of overwhelming odds is controversial, the Senator from Wisconsin deserves the title.

If a determination to expose and to remove from public offices of trust, persons disloyal to the United States is controversial, this, too, must be added to the mistakes of Joe McCarthy.

Yet, as we meet today in the Senate of the United States, perhaps it is more fitting that we reexamine the things for which Joe McCarthy fought and died, and decide whether on these basic issues there is any ground for compromise, appeasement, equivocation, or even tolerance. Perhaps on this occasion, it would be desirable for many Americans to decide to become "controversial" for the sake of our country.

The future will record the struggle against evil which Senator McCarthy fought.

Will it be so kind with each of us?

Consider the Scriptures:

> A righteous man, though he die before his time, shall be at rest. For honorable old age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor is its measure given by number of years: but understanding is gray hairs unto men, and an unspotted life is ripe old age. Being

made perfect in a little while he fulfilled long years: for his soul was pleasing unto the Lord.

Mrs. Schoeppel joins me in conveying our deep sympathy to all the members of his family, and to the friends of JOE McCARTHY in the great State of Wisconsin and throughout the Republic.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the observations which have been made with respect to the late Senator McCARTHY by Senators who have preceded me. I join with them in paying tribute to one with whom it was my pleasure and my privilege to be very closely associated in the work of this body during the entire 10 years or more he served in the United States Senate.

It was not my privilege to know JOE McCARTHY until he came to the Senate in January 1947, but we were both assigned to the same committee. The committee then was the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. During the course of those 10 years of service in the Senate, Mr. President, we both remained members of that committee, even though its name has since been changed to that of the Committee on Government Operations. During his 10 years of service on that committee and on the subcommittee known as the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations we worked and labored together. I may be mistaken, but I believe possibly I worked with Senator McCARTHY more constantly than did any other Member of the Senate. It was there, Mr. President, that I learned to know him and learned to appreciate some of the fine qualities JOE had, and perhaps also to understand some of his faults, as we all have faults. It is known that during the course of those years there were controversies. The committee had difficult tasks to undertake, both when he served as chairman of the committee and also during the time I have served as chairman of the committee. But, Mr. President, I can say truthfully that while we sometimes disagreed on a method of procedure, there was never a personal difference between JOE McCARTHY and me during the years we labored together. I do not recall that I ever said one word about Senator McCARTHY, anywhere or at any time, that was not spoken in friendship and out of respect for him and for the work he did.

It has been said here that he was not the first to call the country's attention to the dangers of the Communist conspiracy. Mr. President, he may not have been the first, but no one warned and alerted the people of this country more effectively than did JOE McCARTHY during the time he had the opportunity to guide the Committee on Government Operations and the subcommittee thereof, the Permanent Investigating Subcommittee. I admired JOE McCARTHY because of his courage. He was a man of courage. No enemy can ever say otherwise. I admired him, too, Mr. President, for his independence. He was not a rubber stamp. He would call attention to the evils or to the things which were wrong in his own party, just as quickly as he would point it out if the error was being made by a member of the Democratic Party. I admired him, too, because he had deep convictions. He did not change his mind easily. Once he became convinced, he fought for his convictions.

Mr. President, I felt close to JOE McCARTHY; and the best evidence of my regard and respect for him, I think, is the action I took when the select committee was created this year to investigate improper practices in the labor-management field. It will be recalled that there was a delay in establishing the select committee. During that period of time, when it was anticipated that I would be a member of the committee—the leadership of this body and other Senators will bear me out—I thought enough of JOE McCARTHY's work, his capacity, and his ability, and my being able to get along, and work with him, and to get a job done, that I urged he be appoined to serve with me on the select committee.

Mr. President, I had the privilege, too, on that sad day, of attending the funeral of JOE McCARTHY in Wisconsin. I have never seen a finer tribute paid to anyone than the tribute the people of his State paid to Senator McCARTHY on that occasion. It made one who had the privilege of working with him in the cause of our country, and trying to serve our people, realize that JOE McCARTHY was one who had left an abiding influence on his countrymen.

Mrs. McClellan joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to his lovely wife and all the members of his family.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, the story of JOE McCARTHY will be repeated wherever the history of our time is discussed. JOE McCARTHY lived his political career in the very storm center of the most insidious danger which has ever faced our country and the world.

This is not the time or the place to go into the political controversies which rent our domestic life into warring factions.

Our purpose here is to pay tribute to a friend and fellow Senator.

A little episode will give the quality of the man. A visitor to Washington was busy at a party, denouncing JOE McCARTHY and all his works. When he finished, the guest he was addressing put out his hand with a friendly smile, and said, "I am JOE McCARTHY. Let's talk it over."

JOE McCARTHY was human. He had weaknesses, like all of us. When he was cut with knives, he bled. But he had a fighting heart. He fought the enemies of his country to the best of his powers. But when men he admired seemed to desert him, his heart broke.

JOE McCARTHY loved his country. He loved the State he represented. Like so many men who have fought in battle, he felt a sense of love and protectiveness for the younger men sent into new wars. JOE McCARTHY did not end his service to his country when he took off the uniform, nor end his loyalty to our fighting men when he left the Armed Forces.

It was inconceivable to him that mere boys should be sent into battle to fight Communists in Asia, while men in high office were unwilling to fight Communists at home.

JOE McCARTHY loved the Senate. He respected and admired his colleagues, especially the men who served for years before he began his service with the post-war class of 1946.

When he entered this Chamber, to take the oath to support the Constitution; when he sensed suddenly, in the midst of the daily trifles, that the Senate was molding the law by which our Nation lives; when he looked, at evening, toward the dome of the Capitol against the sky, he felt a kinship with all the men who have served in Congress, with all the men who have tried in their separate ways to make America strong and free.

He was proud that he, a farm boy, had been chosen by his own people in Wisconsin to represent them in the Senate of the United States. At moments he must have thought, as we all do, that, if his father and mother could look down and see him, they would be happy to note what their son had done.

If Senator JOE McCARTHY had been a petty or a vengeful man, he could have used the vote of censure to tear the Senate of the United States into bitter factions. But he understood the Communist mentality too well. He knew that was what they wanted, and what they expected. He would not injure the Senate of the United States, to get a little personal revenge.

Once the vote was cast, he asked nothing of his supporters. He turned a smiling, friendly face to his traducers. No man in public life has been more shamefully maligned. For the first time in our history, I believe, the meanness of his enemies pursued a man beyond the grave.

We misunderstood his gentleness. We did not know his heart had broken. We did not know the mainspring was gone. Nothing could erase from his memory the fact that friends and colleagues, all patriots and men of good will, had voted to censure his conduct as a Senator. For what reason? Because he believed Communists should be driven from high places of honor and trust in the United States.

JOE McCARTHY was vindicated again and again. Even the Internal Revenue Bureau proved the dishonesty of the petty personal charges brought against him, by returning taxes he had overpaid.

But when the months dragged by, with no effort by his colleagues to rescind the cruel misjudgment they had placed against him, his tired heart could bear no more.

There is only one service we can do now for JOE McCARTHY, one recompense for what he suffered. We can each make a solemn vow to understand the danger that faces our country, and take up the burden that has fallen from his hands.

Senator McCARTHY believed in what the Communists sarcastically call the conspiracy theory of history. We know well the evidence that the Communists are trying to conquer the world, by conspiracy if possible. Karl Marx turned his own venomous hatred of his own country into the doctrine that the proletariat of the world should make war on patriots of all countries and destroy all nations. Lenin remade Karl Marx's doctrine of open war into a plan for secret conspiratorial assault on the peaceful governments of other countries. Out of the hatred and frustration of the oppressed in Imperial Russia, Lenin fashioned his strategy for turning the discontented into a secret order, dedicated to destroying all peaceful nations by subversion.

Forty years have passed since the Russian Empire collapsed, but the Communists still use methods derived from the conspirators who fought the might of the czars and their secret police. Stalin consistently proclaimed his devotion to the same corrupt and poisoned doctrine, born in the garrets and Siberian prison camps of czarist Russia.

Khrushchev has said only recently that the Communists would adhere to that doctrine of violence and hate, until shrimps learned to whistle.

Why was it wrong for JOE MCCARTHY to believe Lenin and Stalin and Khrushchev? Can anyone offer one single bit of evidence to discredit the statements of these highest Communist authorities that they still intend to remake the world by secret conspiracy? Can any man, of even moderate intelligence, believe they intend to subvert the world, but spare the United States?

The active fight against communism has receded since Senator MCCARTHY was censured for daring to bring the fight to the people. But the danger is still as great as ever. Khrushchev himself has told us so.

The burden of postwar fatigue lies heavy on Americans, as it does on the people of the rest of the world, including Soviet Russia. Wars have become too heavy for mortals to bear. Nearly all nations have suffered a loss of political vitality.

We do not have the fresh confidence that JOE MCCARTHY had, when he came new to the struggle with communism. But battle fatigue does not mean political impotence.

We are not ready today for a new crusade against communism. But we can do something much simpler. We can each of us, as individuals, show utter contempt for the Benedict Arnolds who have betrayed us.

The American people know who are the men who have bowed to Communist pressure. We do not need any legal briefs or court procedures. We need only a healthy political instinct for survival.

Let us—each of us—here resolve that we shall never again have any dealings with anyone in public life who has gained office or wealth or influence by catering to Communists or their well-disguised pressure groups.

Let us not smile at them or touch their hands or tell them of our thoughts or listen to theirs. Let us not do business with them. Let us include them in no act of fellowship.

No American is too busy or too tired to choose nonintercourse with all cynical collaborators with communism, as we would refuse our fellowship to Benedict Arnold if he were in our midst today.

I say that Joe McCarthy terrified the Communists because their hold was weak, not strong. I say the Communists, as such, have no real power to destroy our country, dangerous and destructive as they are. The alliance of the Communists with the ambitious and the timid is the only danger to America. If we break that alliance, if we end all the political advantages of collaboration, victory will be certain.

Joe McCarthy believed that no Communist, no pro-Communist, no person soft on communism, no one who had made a deal with communism has any right to a place in the American Government or in any position of trust or leadership over the American people. He believed there is no place for any pro-Communist anywhere in our Military Establishment, where he can betray our fighting men. He believed there is no place in either of our great political parties for the mean-spirited connivers and makers of deals, who were willing to see America destroyed, if they could gain a little political advantage.

We can best pay our debt to the memory of Joe McCarthy, to the other Americans who have suffered in the fight on communism here at home, and to the men who lost their lives in open war against communism in Korea, by cleansing America of every last remnant of unclear Communist thought and vicious Communist power, until our country shall achieve a new birth of freedom out of the fires of that conflict in which Joe McCarthy, of Wisconsin, laid down his life.

I know the American people will never give up the fight. There is no decadence in our people, only in our institutions. As the Chaplain of the Senate said, when we met here to hold the final services for Senator Joe McCarthy, the Members of Congress are the watchmen on the city walls, whose duty it is to warn the people before the danger strikes. One of the watchmen has fallen. The task falls on us, his colleagues, to stand guard until all danger to our country is ended.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, the Senate lost one of its able Members and the Nation lost one of its great patriots in the untimely death of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY on May 2, 1957.

His passing removed from the Senate one of the most courageous men ever to sit in the Halls of Congress, and from the American scene a man who, in my judgment, was motivated by a deep sense of patriotism and love of country.

It will remain for historians of the future to evaluate objectively the great service he performed. But certainly he, more than anyone else, was responsible for breaking down the doors behind which communism was hiding in our country. Certainly he did more than anyone else to awaken the American people to the extensive spread of this insidious danger.

His bold and fierce campaign to expose Communist infiltration of our institutions brought him into controversy with his own countrymen, perhaps sometimes unnecessarily so. No one, however, can doubt the patriotic objective of his aggressive spirit or the effectiveness of his work. He was a patriot; he loved his country, and he constantly sought to protect it against a danger that, with all its subtleness, was far more real than most Americans imagined.

It is a well-established fact that the main controversy that raged around the name of JOSEPH McCARTHY was the very nature of the international conspiracy he sought to expose. Communists and their sympathizers have missed no opportunity to defame those who seek to expose their subversive activities. Moreover, those who would overthrow our form of government and destroy the American way of life have long resorted to every means known to man to undermine our institutions. This being the nature of the menace with which Senator McCARTHY came to grips in 1950, it is small wonder that he became the central figure of a controversy that was to stir all America.

Mr. President, is it not a fact that in the history of this world many, if not all, the great men who have achieved so much for mankind have lived in the storm of controversy?

Senator McCarthy came upon the scene at a time when communism was making its greatest advances toward world domination. He entered upon the national scene at a time when subversive influences in American institutions and even in the agencies of Government had reached dangerous proportions. It is my conviction that had it not been for Joseph McCarthy's unrelenting campaign against this international conspiracy, communism would be in a far stronger position in this country today. This awakening of Americans to the danger within our borders was, in my judgment, as necessary to our security as the system of defenses we have provided to protect our country against enemy attacks from without. Many today recognize and more later, will recognize the treacherous nature of the menace he sought to expose and the difficulty in bringing into the light the activities of subversives. The extent to which Senator McCarthy succeeded in doing this is an achievement which will loom larger in the public mind as the nature of this evil force becomes better understood. The danger from international communism is by no means past. Indeed, its menace to the peace and security of free peoples everywhere is the greatest problem of the free world today. But we are in a better position here in the United States to meet that danger because of the service performed by Joseph McCarthy.

Today I pray that every comfort and strength may come to his lovely and brave wife and to the members of his family.

I have spoken of the courage, boldness, and strength of Joseph McCarthy. Like others, I pay tribute to the gentleness of the man himself, which was known to those who have been in his home, as I have been.

My wife joins me as I express upon the floor of the Senate my sympathy to Mrs. McCarthy and to their daughter Tierney.

Joseph McCarthy now rests from his heroic labors. His patriotic spirit, however, will live in the hearts of his countrymen as long as they, too, shall defend this beloved country.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, Joseph R. McCarthy was a man possessed of great courage and deep and abiding convictions. He had for his country a passionate love—and devoted patriotism. This was coupled with stern determination to render service commensurate with these great driving forces.

He entered the scene of our national life at a time when the world became divided into two great camps of conflicting ideology. During World War II, Soviet Russia was engaged in combating some or all of the enemies that were alined against the Allied Powers. The great menace of modern communism was not apparent until after the end of hostilities.

The free world full well realized the necessity and has met the responsibility of maintaining a Defense Establishment of sufficient strength to defend and protect against possible and potential Soviet military aggression. Did it then realize, and does it now realize, that the Trojan Horse, the secret weapon, in the Communist arsenal of aggression is infiltration within the free state, espionage, and the blinding and subversion of the minds of men? Joe McCarthy's answer to this profound question was a resounding "Yes." He then devoted his life to the high purpose of exposing the internal manifestations of the Communist conspiracy in all of its ramifications.

No man in this decade has been the fulcrum of such controversy as that which swirled around the figure of our deceased colleague. Because his goal and purpose could never be subjected to valid criticism, his enemies and detractors concentrated on decrying his methods.

Mr. President, in my judgment, JOE MCCARTHY has made a real and lasting contribution toward the preservation and perpetuation of the free world in his fight against the menace of internal subversion. His death was as much that of a soldier fighting in the ranks for human liberty and eternal truth as if it had occurred on the field of battle and been inflicted by bullet, bayonet, or shell.

He passed on in the prime of a vigorous and useful life. We who came into intimate contact with him can testify as to his great and generous heart, his affable nature, and his love and devotion to the principles he cherished.

To millions who mourn his death, JOE MCCARTHY's life and works need no vindication and no justification before the bar of ultimate justice and the throne of his God. His heart was pure; his purpose was noble.

When the sound and the fury of the present and immediate past have faded into the recesses of time, history will write for him the final verdict, and his name will be blessed in the hearts and minds of free and liberty loving people as long as the light of western civilization shines on this earth.

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, throughout most of my adult lifetime I have observed the sinister efforts of some subversive interests to undermine, weaken, and destroy our great Government through infiltration or any other means.

As a Member of the House of Representatives in the 83d Congress, I followed with special interest the work of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, and during that period the dedicated devotion and service of its chairman, Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY, was most impressive.

Senator MCCARTHY has done more than any other man in my time to arouse America through the exposure of these subversive elements. Long after his associates in the United States Senate have passed from public life, the work of Senator MCCARTHY will live on indelibly in the minds of all Americans. Because of his great service I am reassured of our better ability to stand alert and more firm against such destructive forces.

America will forever pay homage to the memory of Senator JOSPEH MCCARTHY.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, as one grows older I think he becomes more acutely aware that the shadow of human, mortal dissolution is always walking with him. Therefore the passing of a friend becomes a rather sobering experience. It becomes an even more sobering experience when the one who passes is at his prime, and is still a young man.

Mr. President, it was a sobering experience for me when I stood on the hillside above the banks of the placid Fox River, with the wind whispering in the trees, the outdoors like a great cathedral, and there, with other Senators, paid the last tribute to our colleague, Senator MCCARTHY.

As I came away I thought, he was only 48 years old. On the plane returning to Washington there first came into my mind a line one frequently reads in Scriptures. It refers to an individual and the length of his days. Then I thought, What is the worth of a person's days? After all, the length of one's days is not so important. What is important is the worth of one's day, when he is here, measured in terms of achievement and what he has done for the enrichment of mankind.

I believe, first of all, that the events in the life of JOE MCCARTHY tell in a large measure the story. He was the youngest circuit judge ever elected in the State of Wisconsin. He left the bench to enter the Marine Corps. How many judges leave the bench to don the uniform and serve their country? He returned, after 3 years of military service, and his neighbors, those who knew him best, reelected him to the circuit bench.

He then engaged in a very spirited contest for the Republican nomination to the United States Senate. It was a spirited contest, because the principal contender against him was the son of a man who had come to Congress in 1885, and who had left his name and his record upon the parchment where is inscribed the history of this Republic.

Joe McCarthy was successful, and he was elected to the Senate. Then he was reelected by the people who knew him best, his countrymen in the State of Wisconsin. That speaks eloquently for Joe McCarthy, because I think therein is testimony to the qualities that shine and that have enshrined him in the hearts of so many Americans.

Certainly when the icy finger touched him, and all that was mortal came to an end, it was no morbid curiosity which brought those throngs to St. Matthew's Cathedral for High Mass the morning of his funeral. It was no curiosity that filled the galleries of the Senate with people on the day when the Senate paid tribute to him. It was no curiosity which made people line the streets and highways as the senatorial contingent motored from the airport to Appleton, particularly as it passed through Grand Chute, the little village where Joe McCarthy was born. Certainly it was no curiosity which filled the town of Appleton with people from everywhere to pay honor and tribute to a great American.

There had to be something to explain these outpourings. There had to be something impelling, and there was something impelling. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] referred to the first of the attributes which characterized Joe McCarthy, which was the attribute of loyalty and devotion.

Joe McCarthy held up his hand twice, before he became a judge, when he took the oath to defend the Constitution and uphold the laws of the country, and swore allegiance. He had to hold his hand up twice in the Senate to take the oath to uphold and defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. That is the oath we take, Mr. President. It is a solemn oath, indeed, to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

Perhaps those are mere words to some people. They were not so to JOE MCCARTHY. To him the oath constituted something more than a mere form. He accepted it as a doctrine. He accepted it as prescribing a duty to be performed. He accepted it as a direction.

Probably no other Senator in the last 50 years more literally, more definitely, and more affirmatively articulated the oath we find in the Senate rules than did the distinguished former Senator from Wisconsin, JOE MCCARTHY.

Why was that so? It was because of his loyalty. When I was a student at college I read the great commencement address by Josiah Royce, professor of philosophy at Harvard. The title was "Loyalty." I have not examined that speech for 20 years, but I know he defined loyalty as a thoroughgoing voluntary enthusiasm for a cause.

JOE MCCARTHY had a cause. The cause was this Republic and its perpetuity. That was what impelled him onward. What he did was voluntary; he did not have to do it. He did not have to accept "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," as Shakespeare has put it. He could have coasted; he could have been a conformist; he could have kept his eye always on his constituency and the next election. But he was not impelled to do that. What he did was of his own volition.

Is there anyone who will deny that he was thoroughgoing? Exclusive of everything else, he devoted himself to the business of finding the enemies, foreign and domestic, who were threatening the perpetuity and the life of this Republic. His was an enthusiastic devotion to the cause.

I knew him intimately. I lived with him in those quiet hours and in those days when he referred to me as his advocate and his lawyer. I knew him, and I knew the loyalty which was in his heart.

When we spent 7 weeks under the lights in the Army controversy, almost every evening he would come to my office and would say, "You are my lawyer. What do I do?" Then often I would scold him—kindly, of course—for any mistake which might have been made or for something which had transpired that day.

But over and above everything else, as I knew him so intimately, I discovered in him that shining loyalty which carried him on. He sensed a drift in the world. He sensed conspiratorial influences in our own country. He sensed the relentless drive of the enemies of his country and the skill with which they carry on. So he alerted his country and warned the people of the United States. It was dramatic, in a way; yet the ordinary daily work was so frightfully undramatic. It was hard business amassing evidence and testimony which might be presented to the committee, so that those who were the enemies of the country might be brought into the light.

What was his reward for this loyalty? Oh, the contumely which was heaped upon him, the imprecations which were hurled against him; the vindictive fury which was unleased against him; the vilification with all its bitterness which was poured upon him. Yet there was a humility about him.

Never, in all the days I knew JOE McCARTHY, did I hear him scold or point a finger of accusation against a single Member of the Senate after the censure resolution was approved. I remember the night when I tried to defend him in my humble way.

I thought that perhaps even in the humblest person what had happened might excite in him some unkind feeling toward his colleagues. But I never heard JOE McCARTHY complain or protest against a single Member of the Senate, including those who initiated the action which eventuated in the censure resolution.

So what was the constant force which carried him on? It had to be loyalty, because there has to be some inner drive, some strong voice, to make the most rugged and robust person stand up under such difficulties. Certainly harsh criticism was heaped upon his head in those days. So loyalty was the word of his day.

Then there was that other attribute to which the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] referred—courage. There is the heroism of the battlefield and bravery in the face of danger. Then there is the courage of the commonplace, which is the most important attribute of all. It is the courage in daily life, in the rather neurotic existence through which we pass, when we meet the problems which arise, and meet them courageously.

It takes courage to pursue the enemies of the Republic. It takes courage to probe in dark places. It takes courage for a man to stand up with his chin in the air, when he knows there is an organized effort to destroy what he is trying to do in the interest of the Republic. That is the courage of the commonplace. That is the courage by which we shall be measured.

I have often wondered whether I would have done what JOE MCCARTHY did. I have some doubt about it. I think in moments I would have quailed. I am afraid that in moments when the load became so heavy and the fury so great, I might have faltered. He did not falter under any attack. He did not falter under any assault of character which was made upon him, day after day. He had the courage to withstand the attacks. He excelled in the human attributes of loyalty and devotion to his country, and had the courage to express and articulate his devotion in every day life. That is the courage of the commonplace which marked the public service of JOE MCCARTHY.

Finally, when we say a man is a fighter, we say much. In Revelations it is written—and it is a great line—

> I know Thy works, that Thou are neither cold nor hot: I would Thou wert cold or hot.
>
> So then because Thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue Thee out of my mouth.

That is what St. John the Divine wrote in Revelations on the little island of Patmos centuries ago. There it is. Be either hot or cold. JOE MCCARTHY was affirmatively on the side of the Republic. There was no neutrality about him. He was positive, and he was combative.

When he was in the hospital while the censure resolution was before the Senate, and he had his arm in a cast, I visited him several nights. But I remember the night when hours were spent drafting the text of three different letters addressed to the President of the Senate, letters which I thought would be helpful. That is what a defense counsel does as a part of the defense. So I sat with JOE McCARTHY in the hospital, and he had his arm propped up.

I said, "JOE, make it a little easier, because this is a rough go, as you know. I will do the best I can. But look. I have a letter. I am going to read it to you. I want you to sign it. I think it will make the job a little easier."

We visited after I read it to him.

"No," he said; "I guess not."

I read the second draft. I read the third draft. Finally he looked at me with that interesting little twinkle and little smile which he had and said, "No, Ev, I can't sign it. They might think I am going to crawl."

That was his language.

So we can see that in the face of impending danger he did not quail. He resisted every persuasive effort I made to get him to sign the letter, so I could use it in his defense and read one of the letters to the Senate. But he would not do it.

He said, "I will never let them think I would ever crawl."

That is the heart of a fighter. That was loyalty to the course he was pursuing. That is the courage to follow through, to ask no quarter, and to give no quarter.

Mr. President, if you wonder why throughout this broad land he is enshrined—and he is enshrined—I think 250,000 letters came to my office when he was sitting under the lights in that controversy. There were 150,000 which my staff could not even answer.

I know of the telegrams and I know of the letters that came from people in every State of the Union. At all hours of the day, from early in the morning until late at night, my telephone was ringing with calls from New Mexico, from Texas, from Connecticut, from Illinois, from Wisconsin, and from California, as long-distance telephone calls on this subject came from people who were interested, people who were evaluating a fighter with a loyal heart, with consummate courage, and with a great and consuming devotion to the public.

Mr. President, what is the monument to him? It is not in the feeble words we utter, which will pass on the afternoon breeze. But, rather, it is in the living, pulsing shrine of hundreds of thousands of hearts in America, as attested to by the letters and other expressions. No such pulsing monument, no such living shrine, will ever be erected in the slightest degree to those who hurled their vindictive shafts at him when he was still alive.

So, Mr. President, today we testify to a great fighter, a man of devotion, a man of courage, who was so untimely taken from the public and from this body—JOE MCCARTHY.

As for Jeannie, with the same militant courage she stood by his side and bled with him. Some of the snide articles which were written would make many persons quail. But she never quailed, and neither did he. So she keeps the vigil to his memory, in the interest of this Republic.

Mr. President, a great servant has gone.

As the wind caresses the trees in the great cathedral over the placid waters of the Fox River, I believe it will waken living memories of a man who served his country well—as a judge, as a marine, and as a public servant—fighting for the perpetuity of this Republic.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, no Member of the Senate will fail to recognize that in the passing of the junior Senator from Wisconsin, JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, the Senate has lost one of its strong figures.

Joe McCarthy was a man of unalterable convictions, to which he clung tenaciously, and which he expressed in picturesque prose in public and in private discussion, as freely off the floor of the Senate as on it.

Generally, I neither agreed with his manner of expression nor subscribed to his selection of sentiments. But I never failed to understand where he stood; and that steadfast quality of heart and mind is, I believe, of some value in this Chamber to the American people.

To me, it is a matter of regret that he should pass away early in his career, at an age where he could more completely have devoted his energies to the problems of his State and to his particular interests in the greater welfare of the Nation.

Mr. President, the junior Senator from New Mexico had seen him many times when his relationships with his colleagues were more cordial than they were in his later years; and therefore the Senator from New Mexico can testify to Joe McCarthy's joy in friendly association with his fellow Senators, and can say to his wife, Jean, to his family, and to his friends that his absence from this body will be lamented through the years which lie ahead.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, during the 2 short years I served in this body with the late Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin, I conceived a warm regard for him as a man, and a sincere respect for him as a fearless and fighting Senator.

With all the other Members of the Senate, I mourn his loss, and I feel the deepest sympathy for his family.

However, my brief association with Senator McCarthy might not have justified my participation in this memorial service, except to be present and to give my respectful and reverent attention, were it not for the fact that it is my privilege to read to the Senate the statement of one of Senator McCarthy's closest and most loyal friends, my colleague, the senior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Bridges].

Senator Bridges is unable to be present, because of illness. However, he was not content simply to have his statement inserted in the Congressional Record. Instead, he wanted it to be read at this time.

Therefore, Mr. President, I now have the privilege of reading to the Senate the tribute of Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, to his friend, JOE McCARTHY.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BRIDGES

Millions of Americans from all walks of life bowed their heads in prayer and sorrow when Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, of Wisconsin, passed on unexpectedly on May 2, 1957.

In the 10 years that he represented the State of Wisconsin in the United States Senate, he did more than any other person in this country to bring about a public awareness of the dangers of communism and the spread of communism within our borders. He waged a long fight, terminated only by his sudden death, to preserve the freedoms which our Founding Fathers gave us and which are being threatened by the hostile and insidious efforts of an unfriendly nation to undermine them.

JOE McCARTHY was a fighter and a great American. He fought hard for what he believed in and for what he believed to be right. He placed the welfare of his country above all, and the courage and loyalty that he demonstrated to protect our American way of life and our republican form of government will be greatly missed.

By spearheading the alert to our Nation of the grave menace of the Communist conspiracy, JOE McCARTHY performed an invaluable service. His stature will grow with the passing of time; and, like other great Americans who preceded him, his patriotic endeavors will become more truly realized and appreciated as the years go by.

During his 10 years here in the Senate, Senator McCARTHY demonstrated the same ability and determination which marked his entire life. Although his parents provided him with a good home, he refused financial assistance from them while in college and law school, supporting himself every cent of the way. Four years after graduation, the people of Wisconsin elected him to a judicial post. In 1942, he voluntarily enlisted in the United States Marine Corps, where his ability was recognized by elevation to commissioned rank. Such was the forceful ambition and determination of this man.

I had a great deal of contact with JOE McCARTHY during his service here in Washington, and had ample opportunity to assess him, both as a legislator and public servant and as a man. He measured up on both counts, and I shall always be proud to have known him as a close friend.

Warmhearted and generous to a fault, he was at the same time a relentless fighter, firm in his belief that all Communists within our shores were traitors. Though his enemies—and they were many—sought to pervert and disgrace his motives, he never permitted these attacks to deter him. I doubt that any other man in modern times has been more admired and more vilified at the same time. But neither slander nor scorn, prestige nor influence could make JOE McCARTHY swerve in the least. His unexpected death has lost to this Nation a great champion of liberty and the American way of life.

As do others, I still find it difficult to accept the fact that JOE McCARTHY is no longer with us, to come to the realization that he has been called to rest. Many fine articles have been written and many prayers uttered since his death, but the words which touched me perhaps the most were contained in a prayer delivered by the Reverend Donovan Palmquist before a joint assembly of the Wisconsin Legislature. Reverend Palmquist said, in part:

> We thank God for the life of Senator McCARTHY and for his contribution to the American way of life. We thank Thee for him as a fighter of communism, defender of free speech, and as

one who was concerned about the needs of people—not only in Wisconsin but throughout the Nation and the world.

No more simple and yet eloquent epitaph could be written about Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

Mrs. Bridges joins me in expressing once again our deepest sympathy to his widow, Jean McCarthy; to their daughter, Tierney Elizabeth; and to all the other members of the McCarthy family.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I came to the Senate in November 1947, less than 1 year after JOE MCCARTHY arrived here as a new Member of this body.

One of the very first things I remember about him was that I recognized him as a man of tremendous energy. In the short period of time he then had been here, he had already well worked his way into the program and the activities of the Senate, and he was tremendously interested in what he was doing. I recognized in him a very fine capacity for work and for understanding and for wrestling with public problems; and I saw in him, too, as I came to know him better, a man who had no sense of fear, a man of great courage and very sincere convictions.

In his later years I was attracted to him through his intense interest in humanity and his consistent and unvarying kindness, not only toward his colleagues, but toward everyone, not merely toward those who could mean something to him, so to speak, but he seemed to me to have a consistent kindness toward everyone—a fine human trait. I was very much interested in seeing an expression of that quality in the decision made by him and his devoted wife to adopt a little girl, Tierney Elizabeth, who meant so much to him and to her. In one of our last conversations—all our conversations were pleasant—I had an opportunity to talk to him in a personal way, it was about that little girl, to whom he was so devoted.

I served on the Appropriations Committee with JOE. As someone has said, everybody liked to call him JOE and to hear his genial and fine response. We sat opposite each other for a good long while across the Appropriations Committee table. However we may have differed on matters there or elsewhere in the Senate, that never made the slightest difference in his cordial and sincere greeting to me. He showed a broad, big nature, and a very fine attitude toward his own public duties and toward what others might consider their public duties. I genuinely appreciated such an attitude, and was always very glad to see him. I think every member of the Appropriations Committee was glad when JOE arrived at a meeting. When he came into the committee room he always had under his arm or in his hand a memorandum, and he always had something to say that was lively and to the point. He was always well prepared on his subject matter. I think he made a very fine contribution to the Senate and to the country.

In his very sincere and very devoted fight on communism, a fight for what he believed in, he was fighting primarily for Americanism. We have all read of the many activities in which he was engaged and of the matters brought out in the investigations which he conducted. I know he was devoted to the cause of Americanism and to his duty, and I know he repulsed those who might come to him, in a friendly way, and suggest side journeys. He would always turn such suggestions aside and keep his eye on his mission. He felt that was his cause, and he represented it well. I commend his memory for that striking and outstanding trait.

Along with what I believe is the sentiment of every Member of this body, certainly of those who served with him, I sincerely mourn the passing of JOE McCARTHY from our midst and from the active work he was doing. I sincerely appreciate the fine contribution he made. I extend my heartfelt sympathy to his wife and his family.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, I again wish to express to his wife Jeannie and to the family of JOSEPH R. McCARTHY my deepest sympathy at his untimely passing. No man can question JOE McCARTHY's patriotism and his intense loyalty to his beloved country; and when the verdict of history is rendered it will be recorded that JOE McCARTHY's burning desire was the welfare of his country.

He fought with vehemence those who would destroy the institutions which we love and cherish. He was a man who acquired and held strong and fast friendships, and who at the same time incurred bitter enmities. He was a fine and loyal friend, a great and devoted patriot, a fearless and courageous fighter, and a great American. His memory will be enshrined in the hearts of all true Americans.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, it was not my privilege to know intimately the late Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY. Our political parties and our Senate duties often traveled in different paths, but surely no one could serve here and not come to recognize the firm convictions which were his and which distinguished him in the minds and the hearts of untold millions in our land.

His church and its hierarchy paid him great tribute on the occasion of his death when many high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church attended the Requiem Mass and prayed for the repose of the soul of our late departed colleague.

The courage of his convictions has left its imprint on the American political scene, but, most important of all, is the devotion and the love that he was able to inspire in his own household. I do not know Mrs. McCarthy. I have never had the honor and the privilege of meeting her, but, in my humble opinion, Mrs. McCarthy exemplified in its truest and finest form the devotion of a good wife and good mother.

I extend to her and to all the members of the McCarthy family my deepest sympathy, and, finally, for JOE McCARTHY, may his soul rest in peace.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. President, when one thinks of a man's life, he thinks of its total impact. I recall hearing, some years ago, a minister deliver a sermon in which he used the illustration of a river moving to the sea. He said that as one stood on the banks above the river, he could look down at a piece of driftwood on the surface of the water. At times the driftwood might be tossed about. At times it might be pulled into the swirling eddies of the stream or move in the current drift of the stream. But when one raised his eyes and followed the course of the stream, he noticed then that the inevitable force of the stream was to move toward the sea.

So I believe when one thinks of a man's life, one feels the impact of it by noting the total trend of it. Certainly the life of JOE McCARTHY was one of devoted loyalty and of rugged fighting for the country which he loved.

As I have sat in the Senate today and heard the many tributes offered by Members of the Senate, some of whom knew him closely, some of whom did not know him so intimately, it has seemed to me that the spirit and the personality of JOE were practically recreated here for us.

As I listened to the eloquent Senator from Illinois speak of the many, many people who walked in the line of the funeral cortege, and the many, many people who came to the church, I was reminded of the evening I visited the funeral parlor downtown, when I was impressed by the many-blocks-long queue of people who came, not out of morbid curiosity, as the Senator from Illinois so well stated, but out of respect for the personality of a man who impressed himself upon our times as few other men have or ever will.

I suppose it is inevitable that today and during his lifetime the commentators on the life of JOE McCARTHY should seek to interpret everything which happened with reference to him in the light of his dominant passion or the thing which dominated his life—and certainly his fight for his country and his fight against subversive elements dominated his life.

When historians examine the record, however, I hope they will note that when the Senate itself, by circumstances which are certainly not the choice of very many of us, was forced to consider incidents in his life, the resolution which was finally brought to the Senate eliminated every count which was based upon or related to Senator McCarthy's fight against communism. The action of the Senate was not anything which anyone connected with it welcomed but, such as it was, it did not relate to and was not based upon any criticism of Joe McCarthy's rugged and unrelenting war on communism.

As has been previously stated, it was difficult for Joe to retreat. In fact, he never did retreat. For that reason it was difficult for those of us who liked Joe and admired his basic work to help him in some of the trying spots in which he was placed.

I am not surprised, although I had not heard the story, to hear of the three times Joe refused to sign the letter which his so-called counsel had prepared for him. It is not difficult for me to realize that Joe would say that he could not do anything which would make it seem that he was crawling. I can understand why Joe took that position. I know I myself tried in my feeble way to straighten out some things, and I know the difficulty I encountered. I think I respected Joe for the very fact that, true to his character and true to his methods, he felt he could not say something which would be interpreted as a retreat.

So his life went on. The total impact of it on our generation can never be obliterated. His name and the memory of his work will remain when most of us have been completely forgotten.

In addition to the impact of his life, I like to think of Joe McCarthy because of his personality. I doubt if there has been or is any Member of the Senate I have known or now know whom visitors to the Senate possessed such a great desire to see and to meet. No Member of the Senate has ever been more generous, within my knowledge, of his time and strength in meeting people who wanted to meet him. He was particularly tender when a child wanted to meet him or shake his hand. He always had a winning smile, and somehow the warmth and intensity of his personality seemed to be communicated to those who met him.

Personally, I shall always appreciate his generous understanding of the technical position in which Members of the Senate may have found themselves upon various occasions, but I shall not remember him primarily for that. I shall remember him primarily for his great devotion to his country, for his uncompromising fight for his country as he saw the situation. He made a great contribution to the Republic in which he lived. That will be his real monument.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I served with JOE McCARTHY in the Senate for about 10 years. In that time I came to know him rather intimately. During that period I developed a tremendous admiration for his courage, the intensity with which he defended his convictions, and the vigor with which he met the onslaughts of his detractors and those who would destroy him.

I do not know that the matter has been referred to in the statements which have been made this afternoon, Mr. President, but in any event for a moment, because I had some connection with them, I wish to review some facts of history, which, strangely enough, the channels of publicity have never explored fully or developed completely, although the facts have been known.

One might say JOE McCARTHY first sprang into the limelight of national attention, perhaps, in his fight against subversion and subversives in this country, with a speech I believe he made in West Virginia, in which he made reference to the fact that there were subversive elements in at least one of our great departments of Government. It was a speech which received a great deal of attention and one which caused much apprehension and concern on the part both of those who loved our country and those who felt, on the other hand, that they might be exposed for their subversive activities. It was given sufficient attention to lead to the designation of a special committee of the Senate to examine into the question of investigating that particular department of our Government.

I cannot say it was a pleasure, but I had the duty of serving as one of the two Republican members of that committee. Senator McCarthy never mentioned a name in the speech which triggered this operation. About the time the special committee was created to look into the matter, he made a speech on the floor of the Senate, standing about two aisles to my right, and for all of 1 day certain Members of the Senate rose from time to time and demanded that Senator McCarthy name the names of the people who might be suspected. All of that particular day and part of the next day he stood on the floor of the Senate and refused to name names. He said, "I will not bring into public discussion the names of the people unless a committee of the Congress after due consideration and after looking over the evidence decides that it is in the public interest to make public their names in public hearings. Otherwise I will refuse to do it." It was demanded of him time and time again on the floor. I know that, because I was present and heard the demands. He refused to name any names.

A special committee was created. I have said this on this floor on previous occasions, so I am saying nothing new. The then Senator from Massachusetts, Senator Henry Lodge, was the other Republican member of that special committee.

At our first meeting a motion was made in the committee that we accede to Senator McCarthy's suggestion and ask him to come before our committee in executive session to discuss the names of suspected people, or those against whom he thought accusation should be made. The proposal was that such discussion be in secret, without making the names public unless our committee considered it to be the public interest to do so.

Senator Lodge and I were voted down. The special committee said, "No; we will hold our first hearings in public.

We will compel the Senator to come before the committee. We will subpena him. We will place him under oath, and we will make him name the names in public."

That is exactly what was done. JOE McCARTHY has been accused of recklessly scattering names about. It was not JOE McCARTHY who scattered the names about. It was done in public under the compulsion of a committee subpena. During all the first day he was on the witness stand before the committee, he constantly refused to name the names in public, and he kept constantly saying to the chairman of the committee, "Mr. Chairman, I will give you the names in private. I will give you what information I have in private, and it will be your responsibility if the names are published."

Finally the committee, by committee action, demanded the names and ordered him to give them. Bear in mind, he was under subpena, and he was placed under oath. It was under the compulsion and upon the demand of the committee that he made public the names before a committee conducting a hearing.

That is the history of the publicity given to names by JOE McCARTHY. We never read that history in certain segments of the press. JOE McCARTHY was castigated throughout the country for the loose use of names, but we never see any emphasis placed upon the fact that he was under subpena, under oath, and under the compulsion of a committee, which compelled him to make public certain names to which he referred.

So much for that part of the history of this situation—that part of the history of the beginning of the great crescendo of destruction which started against JOE McCARTHY because he dared to touch the sensitive nerves of certain people when he began to expose subversive activities in areas which previously had not been given a great deal of attention.

It became his consuming and controlling interest—because he got into it so deeply—to attempt in his own way, and as best he could, to purge the United States of those elements which would secretly destroy it; and, of course, in doing so he ran into many of those elements.

Senator McCarthy was like a dentist who starts drilling on one's tooth. Every once in a while he strikes a sensitive nerve, and the patient jumps. That is exactly what many of the fellow travelers and sympathizers did when Senator McCarthy began to get a little too close to their activities.

It has been said on this floor that Joe McCarthy was a man of courage. He was a man of courage. He was a man who determined what his objectives would be, and then drove toward those objectives. He would not compromise with what he thought to be the necessities of the situation in carrying out the purposes he wanted to accomplish for the good of his country.

On occasion, I found myself in disagreement with Senator McCarthy. On other occasions, I found myself in agreement with him. But either in agreement or disagreement, no one could say that he was not a man of deep convictions, with the courage necessary to carry out his convictions.

I think we might paraphrase an old saying by noting that a man can be measured in many respects by the enemies he makes. I think if we put in the balance the enemies Joe McCarthy made in his crusade for his country, we can be proud that most of us believe in the same principles in which Joe McCarthy believed. Certainly the most powerful enemies he made were people who, in the judgment of many of us, did not always work for the best interests of the United States.

Mrs. Hickenlooper and I are deeply grieved at Joe McCarthy's death. We convey our sympathy to his widow Jean, and to their little girl, as well as to his family.

Whether I always agreed with Joe McCarthy in every particular or not makes little difference. However, I believe that the security of this country, and the awareness and fuller understanding of the people of the fact that there are constantly termite like elements within our own midst which are trying to destroy the American system, have been advanced significantly because of the work, effort, and contribution of JOE McCARTHY.

I am glad I knew him. He was a benefactor of the patriotic efforts of people everywhere to preserve America as the land of human dignity, individual responsibility, and freedom that it is, and that we are all determined to keep it.

Mr. PURTELL. Mr. President, the untimely death of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY removed from the American scene and from this body a man who was a fighter to the last for a cause in which he believed deeply.

The depth and courage of his convictions were such that he would not be, could not be, dissuaded in his efforts to carry them out to their fullest extent, regardless of personal consequences. He pursued them even to the impairment of his own physical well-being.

Senator McCARTHY's great ability was early recognized by the people of Wisconsin in his selection as the youngest circuit court judge ever to so serve on the bench in that State. He was elected and reelected to the Senate of the United States by the people of Wisconsin.

Today we have properly set aside this memorial period as a tribute to our former colleague as an American and as a friend.

JOSEPH McCARTHY was a fighter. He sparked differing reactions throughout this country and throughout the world. In a few short years, he became one of the most controversial figures of our time. History's appraisal of him will be far more accurate than the emotional estimates of the many who were in turn affected deeply by what he was trying to do and do the way he felt it should be done.

No one can question his courage or his determination to follow what he accepted as his compelling mission and his duty.

Our prayers and thoughts today are for his wife, Jean, and his daughter, Tierney Elizabeth, whom he cherished and to whom he was devoted.

Joe McCarthy will not be forgotten as a man, as a Senator, or as a public figure.

Today, during this period, we collectively express our grief at his passing and our sense of loss that this body will no longer list him as one of its Members.

His final eulogy will be carried in the hearts and minds of those to whom he was a symbol of flaming courage.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, this is a very difficult assignment for any man to undertake. It is difficult because one does not know which avenue to follow in trying to appraise for his colleagues the friendship one has for Joe McCarthy.

I could well relate the experiences I have had with him in my native State of Arizona, which he visited often because he was troubled with asthma. I could refer to the friendship that existed between us for many years, a friendship of which I was proud then and of which I am prouder now. I could refer to the times we have spent fishing or playing poker. I must say that he was not good at either one. I could refer to the times I have eaten his cooking. I must say as to that the same as I said about his fishing and poker.

I could refer to the times we spent campaigning across the country in the various States, and I could tell the American people and my colleagues of the great affection manifested toward him at every place McCarthy went. Whenever the plane stopped or the train stopped or the car stopped, there were always crowds of people who looked on this man as their particular defender. Those men and women stand today in the multitude they did then.

I could add my words about the hospital to those of the distinguished Senator from Illinois, because I, too, was confronted with his stern adherence to what he termed his principle when his lawyer, Mr. Williams, and I visited the hospital late one night and tried to get him to sign certain letters. He relieved himself of our company by declining on the same ground that we heard stated by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen].

Once before on the floor, Mr. President, at this very spot, it was my occasion, and my proud occasion, to rise to defend this man. I did not defend him that night as a personal friend. I do not think friendship entered into the determination of any of us who voted against censure on that day. I rose as an American to defend another American who, I felt, was doing something good for his country. I said that night, at the conclusion of my speech: "Over the earth today, the strong winds of destiny are blowing." Those winds are still blowing. They may possibly be blowing stronger today because of the passing of JOE McCARTHY, or they may not be. I think only history can tell as to that.

Mr. President, I will not dwell long this day on the political side of JOE McCARTHY, for many of our ablest editors and journalists across the country have done that better than I can. I should like, however, to sum up, with the words of a few of these writers, what I believe to be the universally accepted appraisal of JOE McCARTHY, the Senator. For example, the Cincinnati Enquirer said:

> Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY was a man of many facets, and people saw in him many different things. To some, he was a cynical, ruthless destroyer of reputations, interested only in the furtherance of his own political welfare. To many, many others he was a man of singular courage and determination, willing to sacrifice in a crusade against the machinations of the Communist conspiracy.
>
> History will judge wherein his greatness lay—as a patriot, or as a politician.

I should like to read from a newspaper in another part of the country, from the Fort Lauderdale Daily News of Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

> We don't know how the God who Senator McCARTHY worshiped will judge him, but we have always been firmly convinced that he did what he honestly felt had to be done, knowing full well that

in carrying out the task he had set for himsef he might be the major victim. He was no angel, nor did he use the tactics of angels in fighting what he believed to be the great menace of our times. He was one of those who used fire to fight fire.

Now let us go to the great State of Texas, to the Houston Chronicle, which said:

> McCarthy's enemies succeeded in making him relatively ineffective after the famous Army-McCarthy hearings and condemnation by his Senate colleagues. But they have not succeeded in erasing from the minds of Americans the stimulation of thoughtfulness which McCarthy evoked.

I read from the editorial published in the Illinois State Journal:

> When time's healing balm wipes away all of the ill feelings, all the stark emotionalism, all the fanaticism that swirled around the political career of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, he may gain recognition as one of the truly great Senators of the 20th century. But any assessment will have to come from objective historians, not from writers of our day who all seem to be subjective.
>
> At any rate, Senator McCarthy was undoubtedly the most controversial political figure of this half century. His foes accused him of witch hunting and of using guilt-by-association tactics to malign honorable people. His admirers were at the opposite pole in their attitude. They said he was justified in using extreme methods in exposing the machinations of communism and its danger to our country.

Mr. President, these and many more editorials and columns, which I shall make a part of my remarks, show the place this man held and holds in the minds and hearts of Americans. McCarthy was controversial, yes, but let me remind Senators that any person who stands on his own feet, who lets the world know what his position is, who speaks his mind and his conscience has always been and always will be controversial.

America has not been made great by the weaklings, but by the strong; and in the current history of our country McCarthy's presence came as a welcome breath of strength amidst the abundance of vacillation and weakness which has characterized our times.

In the area of politics he will be judged by history, and that is as it should be, for the impact of a politician will be felt in what happens years ahead of the cause to which he has given himself. I believe that when history has been written, McCarthy will occupy a niche above those who so loudly condemned him.

Whence came his strength? I believe it wise to recognize its sources, so that young Americans can associate their own strength with them, and themselves judge how they measure up to them. In my mind, Joe McCarthy's strength was built on the firm and tested bases of religion, love of country, love of family, and confidence in his own abilities.

It is interesting to observe that even the most dedicated character assassins, who assigned themselves the task of destroying this man, never doubted that he stood firm on these rocks of character. No, the strange thing that has been revealed thus far is that no sound objections have been offered against the character or the work of this man. Only those who for political reasons opposed him attempted to stain his record and his life and his family with the foul venom of distortion.

History will judge Joe McCarthy; and history will, I believe, be kind and generous in its judgment.

In conclusion, although Peggy and I have already expressed our heartfelt sympathy to Jean and her family, I want Jean to know that as this history of her husband is being written, we want to walk arm in arm with her down the path of the future and the path of memories, helping in any way we can to ease her burden.

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, it is very difficult for me to express my feelings at this time. Joe McCarthy was my friend. He sat here by my side for many, many years. Oftentimes of a night, in his loneliness, he would call me; and I felt better, and I hope he did, as a result of our having talked together.

We came to the Senate of the United States at the same time. Whereas I had devoted most of my life to politics, Senator McCarthy's political career was just beginning. During the first few months of our association I wondered how a man so young and so inexperienced had climbed so high on the political ladder.

Certainly he had none of the shrewdness, cynicism, or guile that are so often ingredients of political success. His chief political asset, I thought, was a disarming innocence and a boundless capacity for friendship. No man seemed less capable of bearing personal malice.

Membership in this body may temper a man's faults and virtues, but it does not transform his character. Joe McCarthy came to us in 1947 with a burning desire to be a good Senator, with a profound loyalty to his country, and with the most open invitation to friendship a man has ever worn. Joe McCarthy was the same man at the time of his death in 1957.

It is indeed a pity that the official records of Senate proceedings can never accurately reflect the personality and character of a departed colleague. In Senator McCarthy's case, for example, the popular portrait has been badly distorted by the exaggerations of his enemies and of some of his admirers.

I know I have not been alone in reflecting upon what might have been done to ward off the unhappy event which climaxed Senator McCarthy's crusade against communism. Here was a man who was hated and vilified, not for his faults, but for his virtues. Nevertheless, he insisted on standing the savage ordeal alone. He did not want his friends to be tarred and feathered by the brush that was being prepared for him.

If I could characterize Senator McCarthy in but one single way, it would be that he was a man of exceptional courage. Bravery was indicated by his distinguished war record and was no doubt discerned by the people of Wisconsin in the campaign of 1946. However, it was not until several years after I met JOE that I realized how indomitable and how unlimited his courage really was.

As Senator McCARTHY so often said, we are at war with communism—a war that will not end except by victory or defeat for Western civilization. This war has many battlefields. The intellectual case against communism is ironclad. America's intellectual leaders in all areas of human activity have drawn up the most damning indictment in recorded history. However, these intellectual exertions are futile unless the nature of the life and death struggle with communism can be presented to the general public in a simple, clear, and dramatic frame of reference.

JOE McCARTHY alerted the American people concerning the essential nature of the Communist conspiracy by words and deeds that no one could fail to understand. He dramatized the issue as no one else had done or was capable of doing. He became the prime symbol of vigorous anticommunism. As the passions of the recent past subside, I hope that both the man and the symbol will be universally accorded the respect they deserve.

Senator McCARTHY's turbulent career in the Senate of the United States had many elements of high tragedy. This was sensed most clearly on the day of his death. One great writer, Mr. William S. Schlamm, expressed this feeling of tragedy when he wrote in National Review:

> Yet there was a weird feeling in the air on that day, a tremor of urgency throughout the Nation, a sudden fearsome shock. This, somehow, was an unnatural death. A man had died in bed, but the country felt that he had been stoned unto death. This, in spite of its slick communicators and ruling hucksters, is an inarticulate nation. Too often it expresses its truest feelings by reflexes rather than in orderly prose. And, last Friday, I felt violent shocks contort the well-fed body of the Nation.

Close to the heart of this tragedy is the paradox of freedom and authority on issues of survival in an atomic age. Senator McCARTHY was impaled on the horns of a dilemma which he did not create and which has not yet been resolved. He could not accept the proposition that a free people must tolerate unorthodox views likely to destroy freedom. Many who opposed him could not accept the proposition that it is necessary for a free people to agree on certain basic values calculated to insure survival.

Senator McCarthy may not have died in vain if from his tragic experience we have learned to approach this paradox of freedom and authority at its most crucial level in a more temperate and humble spirit.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, as we now can view events in retrospect, the immediately past World War II years brought to the surface and into clear sight the wide hold and activity of Communist conspiracy, subversion, and espionage. As this stark fact was increasingly perceived, it also became obvious that there were many ways in which those dangers could be met and fought.

Many patriotic, clear-thinking, hard-hitting Americans tried their hand at it, with a variety of approaches. It was not an easy task, for at least two reasons. First, there were many Communists, Red sympathizers, and misled so-called liberals and leftwingers, many of whom were located and situated in high places in many fields of endeavor—in the Government, in industry, in the press, in the professions, and in business. Second, there was public indifference and apathy concerning a situation of clear, present, and pressing danger.

These two things resulted in a climate of uncertainty and confusion. There was talk of witch hunts, red herrings, and book burning. A host of obstacles was placed in the way of those who undertook to do something about the situation.

Among those who ventured forth was Senator Joe McCarthy. He went ahead in the ways he knew and with the attributes of which he was possessed. These characteristics became well known as he proceeded in his fight; his bulldog courage, persistence, energy, and endurance; his unfaltering loyalty and sincerity; his unquestioned patriotism.

He devoted himself unstintingly to the cause of exposing the things he saw as menaces to his country and its freedoms and liberties. He sought in every way he knew how to awaken the people to the dangers which confronted the Nation.

We are too close to the career of our late departed colleague to evaluate it properly in a dispassionate, objective, and fair way. But we know that great progress has been made in the battle in which he was engaged. We know also that in large measure much of that progress was due to the years and struggles which JOE McCARTHY devoted so vigorously, dramatically, and effectively, to the cause.

The awareness and consciousness of the American people to the real meaning and evil of communism and its real implications are a part of the heritage which this man of action leaves to those who survive.

As we pause to engage in today's memorial services, we can only hope that America's appreciation of that heritage will continue alive and meaningful into the long years ahead. We are reminded only too often of its great importance and value. Even in recent days we have learned of newly discovered episodes of substantial acts by enemies of our country as they are brought to light by some of the same law-enforcing governmental agencies and persons with whom Senator McCARTHY worked so hard and so selflessly, and with great dedication.

An instance of one of these recent events, the case of the Russian colonel, Rudolf Abel, was the subject of a recent editorial published in the Omaha World-Herald. Its message is so appropriate here that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record in my remarks.

[From the Omaha World-Herald of August 9, 1957]

Imagine That, a Spy!

As the whole world knows:

There never were such things as Russian spies.

They existed only in the diseased mind of the late Joe McCarthy.

The Russian leaders are confused men of good will, bumbling their way out of the fog of dictatorship into the pure light of democracy.

Our leaders and theirs are now talking about a plan to send American planes over Russia and Russian planes over the United States of America to make sure that neither side is fudging about disarmament.

So what happens?

The FBI arrests on American soil a man named Rudolph Ivanovich Abel. He is said to be a colonel of Russian intelligence. While posing as an obscure Brooklyn photographer, says the FBI, he has been running the Soviet atomic espionage apparatus in the United States.

Just before he was to be deported to Mexico, while he was in fact in Texas on his way there, the FBI caught up with him and clapped him in jail.

Abel is no small fry. The FBI says he reported directly to the head of the American section of the NKVD in Moscow. He is the most important Red spy suspect ever captured in the United States.

The Abel arrest comes as a shock because official Washington, outside of the Department of Justice, has been trying to pretend for years that Soviet espionage doesn't amount to much. The general attitude has been one of complacency.

But it turns out there are such things as spies after all. Joe McCarthy wasn't completely wrong. And the Soviets are not to be trusted.

Surprising? Not very.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on behalf of Mrs. Hruska and myself, the deepest of sympathy is extended to Jean Kerr McCarthy and to Tierney McCarthy, who have suffered a much too premature grievious loss, as have the people of Wisconsin and the entire Nation.

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, I served with the late Senator Joseph McCarthy as a member of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and as a member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations. At times I disagreed with him; and at times I disagreed with him violently.

Senator McCarthy was an exceptional man. He had great courage; he was resourceful; he had outstanding ability; and he was a tireless worker.

I admire and respect Joe McCarthy as a fighting marine. As has been stated by some of my colleagues, he left the bench in Wisconsin, and volunteered for service in the fighting military unit known as the United States Marines, where he served with great distinction.

Then, Mr. President, I admire and respect the late Joseph McCarthy as a man. No man had any warmer feeling or was more loyal to his friends and his associates than was the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Those who had the opportunity to be with the late Senator on social occasions or when chatting with him in his office or in committee knew that, regardless of differences which might have existed on political or other issues, Joe was not vindictive. He was a warm, human, and an exceptionally delightful and charming person.

Mr. President, I like to think of Senator McCarthy also as a Senator. Certainly no person who has ever served in this body had a greater impact than did he upon the American people. The name Joe McCarthy was on the lips of all Americans. He inspired passionate love and devotion on the part of millions of our people, at the same time that he inflamed the hearts of others to hatred.

In any case, his name became a household word. He became a public personality and one of the most widely known men in the United States.

Even the severest critic of Senator McCarthy would say that he—more than any other person in this country—did one very valuable thing: He awakened the American people to the dangers of communism. I believe, Mr. President, that if it had not been for the efforts of Senator McCarthy and the fight he made against communism, the American people would not have awakened in the manner in which they did to its menace. The dramatic efforts made by the late Senator were invaluable. As a result of that awakening on the part of the American people, today the country is much more aware of the sinister aspirations of international communism.

Mr. President, JOSEPH McCARTHY is missed from the United States Senate.

Mrs. Potter would join me in extending to his widow, Jean, and their little daughter, and to the Senator's many, many friends, our condolence on his passing.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, following the untimely passing of the late JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, the widow, the family, and the friends of the late Senator can derive in very great measure their solace from his patriotism, in the Marine Corps in World War II and in the Congress, his demonstrated revulsion at the slave system of international communism, and his continuing dedication to the cause of its complete extirpation here in the United States.

His years of service in the United States Senate were given over very largely to fighting a menace which, alas, continues to plague free America and the free world.

Mr. President, these moments in the Senate Chamber have been set aside as a memorial service to our late colleague, who sat on this side of the aisle. They provide a time for the recollection by the Senate, and by its individual Members, of both the political life and the personal life of a Senator with whom most of us served.

His entire political life in the Senate was one of tumultous controversies, regarding which I must observe that many times I found myself on the other side.

He was vigorous, as he saw the light, in pursuing his cause. None will disagree with the goal he set, and none will gainsay that goal—the preservation of free America and the rooting out of Communist infiltration in Government and in other groups.

But his methods, his techniques, and his modes of operation themselves resulted in the strongest kind of turmoil, and in inflamed passions, pro and con, all across the Nation.

Mr. President, at this memorial service for the late Senator McCarthy, those of us who served with him have an opportunity to recall him as a Senator and as a man. This is not a moment for judgment. He has been judged by many in the days gone by; and others, surely, together with history, will judge him in the future. Let it be said here, Mr. President—simply, and I believe, with unanimity of opinion among the Members of the Senate—that Joe McCarthy was the most unyielding kind of fighter in the seemingly never-ending struggle against communism.

For myself, Mr. President, I wish to extend to all his family the sympathy of one who served with him and, in 4 years of that service, saw him in his seat a little farther to the front than my own, and always knew him as one who was unflinching in his advocacy of the cause which motivated his political life as a United States Senator.

Mr. **BEALL**. Mr. President, as one who had the privilege of knowing Senator McCarthy as a friend, I take this opportunity to make a few comments about his service in this body and his untimely death.

Joe McCarthy was a determined man with strong convictions. As such, he gained the deep devotion of thousands of Americans and, as is the case whenever strong men act, a certain amount of opposition.

Joe McCarthy gained a position of prominence throughout the entire world, but he was never too busy to discuss various issues with his friends. It was my good fortune to be able to enjoy numerous conversations of this type with Joe, and I always found his views to be highly interesting. His untimely death was a shock to all of us, and we again offer our sincere condolences to his wife and baby daughter.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House

Monday, *May 6, 1957.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou eternal and ever-blessed God, under the canopy of Thy gracious providence, we again assemble in this Chamber, lifting our souls in adoration and thanksgiving, in confession and penitence, in supplication and intercession.

Humbly we acknowledge that daily we must yield our spirits to Thy spirit if our life is to have worth and meaning, wisdom and strength.

Grant that we may begin this day and all our days with the prayer, "Lord what wilt Thou have me be and do?"

Inspire us to do Thy will more perfectly, for in the doing of Thy will is our peace.

Hear us in Christ's name. Amen.

A message from the Senate by Mr. McBride, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a resolution, as follows:

Senate Resolution 132

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

Resolved, That a committee of 24 Senators be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased at Appleton, Wis.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn until Wednesday next.

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce the untimely death of the junior Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy.

Senator McCarthy was a dedicated enemy of communism. He was likewise a very controversial figure. He was a hard and tenacious fighter who asked no quarter and who gave no quarter. Being that sort of individual, he made many bitter enemies and, by the same token, he made many hard and steadfast friends.

I knew Senator Joseph McCarthy for a great many years. He was a very fine individual, a very religious man, a devoted husband and father. I believe Senator McCarthy served a very useful purpose in public life.

To his wonderful wife, Jean, and the family, I extend my sincere sympathy.

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert a few remarks about Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, who passed away on Thursday, May 2.

Goodby, Joe. Babe Ruth and Lou Gehrig, too, departed at the height of their careers. You were always in there swinging and taking your cuts at the ball. Mickey Mantle tries for the fences but he strikes out, too.

You may have been a controversial figure, but no one doubted your Americanism. You cannot please them all. You alerted the world to communism and today the United States and the friendly nations are fighting the cold war against the same enemy.

There has been no perfect person since Adam and Eve. When you reach the pearly gates, I am sure your batting average will measure up and please St. Peter.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Senator McCarthy was a great American. He fought for what he believed to be right. He was troubled and concerned for the welfare of his country. The courage and loyalty he brought to this generation of our wonderful country will stand as an example for all time.

His fighting heart, his frankness, his driving determination to protect our form of government and our way of life will be greatly missed in the operations of our National Government. His friends as well as all who knew him well were completely mindful of his respect and reverence for all loyal, honorable Americans, whether or not they walked the high road or the low road. And all of his friends knew of the lack of respect and the contempt and disgust he felt toward those who sheltered themselves as Americans but who were ready, willing, and actually did do all they could to destroy the finest Government ever conceived by man and the finest country in the world, his, yours, and my America.

From the falling of Captain Parker on Lexington Common to the falling of the last American on Korean soil, many fine loyal Americans, oh so many of them, gave their lives that our priceless free way of life might continue. Senator McCarthy was determined this priceless heritage should not be destroyed from within our country by disloyal individuals pretending to be loyal. He was determined to prevent Communists in America from destroying the America so costly forged in victory won in the fury of battle.

The vigor of his fight, the force of his determination, the courage of his spirit shook and rocked the forces of communism in America to its foundation and pounded it and pounded it into the very soil it was betraying. His fearlessness shattered communism in this country and forced the Communists from their organizations into disintegration and into hiding behind the fifth amendment.

As an American I am grateful for all Senator McCarthy accomplished. I believe his greatest contribution was the alerting of the American people throughout our country to the dangers of communism within our own boundaries. Because of his mighty fight, communism will never again threaten our free way of life from within our own hallowed territory. Because of Senator McCarthy, it is no longer smart or safe to be a Communist in America.

In the making of his forceful fight against communism, he was constantly and faithfully and intelligently assisted by his lovely and charming wife. Her advice to him, I am sure, was always very helpful and very constructive. My deepest sympathy goes out to Mrs. McCarthy and to the family of the Senator.

Senator McCarthy had many friends and I am proud to say I was one of them.

His outstanding fight against communism could have saved our great country. Many disagreed with some of his methods, but no loyal American could disagree with his fervent and courageous battle to destroy communism within our national borders. All must admire and respect his loyalty to his country and to all Americans who believed in their country. He tried to do what he thought was right. He fought for those principles he thought were basic. He believed that no sacrifice was too great for the preservation of our American way of life.

Because of these profound principles and the courage of a lion, I am proud to say that in my view Senator McCarthy was a great American.

Mr. Speaker, I have just come from the Senate Chamber where I listened to the fine tributes paid to the late Senator McCarthy. One was made by Father Awalt of Senator McCarthy's own Catholic faith. The other was made by Dr. Harris, the Protestant Chaplain of the Senate. Both knew Senator McCarthy so well. I hope everyone will read them. The Right Reverend Monsignor Cartwright, who earlier delivered the stirring eulogy at St. Matthew's Cathedral, was there also.

Mr. Speaker, I was one of those who was privileged to visit all that remained of Senator McCarthy on Saturday afternoon last and I was tremendously impressed with those who visited at the same time and the long lines of those who were paying their last tribute and respect to the man who fought for God and who fought to save this country from subversive influences.

So far as I am personally concerned, I have suffered a great loss. I never went to Senator McCarthy for help that I did not receive it. Thousands of people have told me the same thing. We cannot replace him.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, to those of us who knew and believe in him, Joe McCarthy was one of the outstanding patriots of our time.

He sensed the danger to our national security which came from the infiltration of Communists into high political policy-making positions in the Federal Government.

He sensed the grievous harm they were working because of their acceptance in the social and intellectual life of our country; the encouragement given them by high Government officials.

By the so-called liberals who dictated and expressed the policy of the press McCarthy was abused and vilified.

Time has vindicated his judgment, and those who then criticized not only his methods but his purpose might well hang their heads in shame.

Joe McCarthy had convictions. He had courage. He had determination and he knew not the meaning of surrender.

He may have lacked the flashy, evasive methods of the open field runner, who often brings an audience to its feet in wild applause. To me, he had the characteristic of the all-powerful fullback, who, seeing the necessity of a yardage gain, has his mind fixed on the scrimmage line and, regardless of consequences, crossed it; gained the necessary goal.

Whatever may be said of Joe McCarthy, even his worst enemies, including the cowardly ones who dared not face him, will admit the worthiness of his objectives; the fact that today the victory which he sought has, because of his efforts, been largely won.

No longer, even in Washington nor in the leftwing press, do the advocates of communism, the vocal supporters of its objectives, dare to openly challenge the attainment of the purpose which he sought.

From one of his consistent supporters, permit me to read Saturday's editorial from the Chicago Tribune:

A VALIANT FIGHTER

If Senator JOE MCCARTHY had been a Communist sympathizer or agent, given to invoking the fifth amendment, the chant would now be rising from every liberal minaret in the land that he was hounded to his death by false accusations. The cry would be heard that he was a victim of character assassination and that he was driven to death through persecution by insinuation.

We have heard these lamentations every time a Communist has dived out a high window or jumped off a roof. When Harry Dexter White, the Communist agent in Henry Morgenthau's Treasury Department, died 4 days after he had been called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, one liberal mouthpiece termed him the "victim of a special sort of tyranny" in the form of our modern American style inquisition.

When Laurence Duggan, former State Department official and Director of the Institute of International Education, having been named as a Communist, catapulted to death from the window of his 16th floor office, copious tears were shed on the theory that an act of desperation had been occasioned by a groundless accusation.

The U. N. General Counsel, Abraham H. Feller, like Alger Hiss, a graduate of New Deal Washington, also exited life through a 12th floor window after the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee had become interested in the number of Communists who had moved into key U. N. posts. As usual, the liberal line was that he had been put under the strain of defending his associates against indiscriminate smears or exaggerated charges.

We have heard the same outcry again recently, when E. Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, jumped off the roof of a high building in Cairo, a few days after the same subcommittee had revived charges of his one time Communist connections. The editorial tirade of one liberal organ in New York was launched on the note, "Whether Mr. Norman was literally driven to his death by the actions of Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee and its chief counsel, Robert Morris, may not be susceptible of proof." But—and you can easily fill in the rest.

We do not expect to hear the death of Senator MCCARTHY bemoaned in such terms. The Senator was no Communist; hence he was no hero to the liberals. He was a patriotic American and a determined opponent of Communists. And because of that he was made the target of the greatest organized smear campaign of our day. Every liberal commentator and newspaper lost no opportunity to vilify him. The White House palace guard plotted his ruin. The President singled him out for studied insults. His political enemies ganged up on him.

The term "McCarthyism" was coined to make him appear contemptible, but no sensitive lover of Moscow was ever pilloried with such violent animosity as was Senator McCarthy in the public hearings that revolved around the petty issue of a promotion that never materialized for a member of his staff who was drafted into the Army as a private.

There followed the lynching bee in the Senate which reached a predetermined judgment that Senator McCarthy's conduct was to be condemned.

Even Joe McCarthy's honorable service as a marine in the Pacific war was questioned, and it was implied that somehow he was not entitled to the combat medals he had won. Insinuations were made that he was a tax evader, but when the Internal Revenue Service completed its investigation, it was found that Senator McCarthy had overpaid his tax and was entitled to a refund.

No man in public life was ever persecuted and maligned because of his beliefs as was Senator McCarthy. All of the phony martyrs of ordeal by slander lumped together never absorbed a fraction of the abuse that was visited on him. He took it all without a whimper and stuck to his guns. The Republic has lost a stalwart defender.

Proof that McCarthy's objective was appreciated and that he will long live in the hearts of the so-called common people was found in the effort of thousands who here in Washington sought to honor him by attendance at the services held to commemorate his passing.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, I want to pay my tribute to Senator Joe McCarthy.

I have known the Senator, and his lovely and gallant wife, ever since I first came to Congress. I looked upon them as friends.

Whatever anyone may think of Senator McCarthy's methods, no one can deny his patriotism or his courage. In an age of chiselers and opportunists, he had preserved and he used the power of righteous indignation. He alerted many to the dangers in our midst and saved our country from many traitors who, fearing him, slunk into the dark recesses from where they safely spewed their venom and filth on him, but did not dare attack our country openly.

Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, the ancients who told us that we could die of a broken heart were not so wrong. Perhaps hatred can break a heart, and evil thoughts may kill as easily as mere physical ills.

Edmond Rostand, the French poet who wrote about Napoleon's son, makes his hero say this on his deathbed:

> Too many people wanted my death, and I die by being killed in too many hearts.

JOE MCCARTHY is now before the Judge of us all. That Judge is just and He will understand.

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, the pages of history show that in periods of world crisis some men are mysteriously inspired to rise above the crowd and, often at great personal sacrifice, provide leadership needed to preserve the security and advance the welfare of their fellow men.

Such a man, in our times, was the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

When he died May 2 he was in the prime of life. He had gained success and had every reason to anticipate years of happiness with his beloved wife and daughter. However, destiny decided otherwise. In many respects he was a man of genius, certainly a man of great personal courage, a man apart, one of those rare persons who seem to be on earth with a special, if dangerous, mission.

Fate sent him to the United States Senate at a time when our Nation was slipping into the sinister grip of a fearful force of evil—atheistic communism. Unforgivably, and to our shame, this false ideology was nourished, even helped to world power with American blood and American gold. In its most charitable light, the evil nature of communism and its masters must have been grievously misunderstood by those then in high office who elevated fellow travelers to places of prestige in our Government.

Patriots tried to sound an alarm but they were quickly crushed. But JOE MCCARTHY was an extraordinary man and he cherished an extraordinary love for America. He risked his life for this Nation in a terrible World War, and arriving on the Washington scene saw the danger, accepted the challenge, and fought with all his might. He refused to be crushed, even when stoned by persons from whom he had a right to expect assistance.

Finally, deserted by colleagues who in conscience should have shared his concern over this treasonable subversion, his spirit was broken. I can well imagine that JOE McCARTHY died of a broken heart. Possibly, he did not realize it, but I believe his mission was accomplished; his special assignment completed. He aroused America from complacency and put us on guard. I sincerely hope that this courageous man from Wisconsin will not have died in vain.

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution (H. Res. 247) as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, a Senator of the United States from the State of Wisconsin.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of 10 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the funeral committee the following Members on the part of the House: Mr. Smith of Wisconsin, Mr. O'Konski, Mr. Byrnes of Wisconsin, Mr. Withrow, Mr. Zablocki, Mr. Van Pelt, Mr. Laird, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Reuss, and Mr. Tewes.

The Clerk will report the remainder of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 29 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, May 7, 1957, at 12 o'clock noon.

Memorial Tributes
to
Joseph Raymond McCarthy

Memorial Tributes

Remarks by Senator Barrett

Of Wyoming

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, on my return trip to Washington after attending the Wyoming stock growers' convention in Lander, Wyo., on June 6, last, I read with a great deal of interest David Lawrence's article, "Justice to the Memory of Senator McCarthy," from the June 7 issue of U. S. News & World Report.

I have been greatly impressed with the logic and reasoning of David Lawrence's editorials, but it seems to me that he documented and marshaled his facts and ideas on this particular occasion with great clarity and conviction.

Upon my return to Washington, I received a letter from my old friend and former United States Senator from Wyoming, E. V. Robertson, a part of which reads as follows:

> I have a great regard for David Lawrence. I have always had the highest possible regard of Joe McCarthy. I am suggesting to you that you have this article published in the Record. I, for one, would greatly appreciate it.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by David Lawrence be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

Justice to the Memory of Senator McCarthy

(By David Lawrence)

True liberalism often requires the championship of causes that at the moment may be unpopular. For true liberalism is not intimidated by the passions of the hour. True liberalism fights for the ultimate verdict—the justice that sometimes comes only in the court of public opinion.

Liberal-minded President Wilson once said in a public speech: "I would rather fail in a cause that I know some day will triumph than to win in a cause that I know some day will fail."

True liberalism challenges us today to rectify a wrong done to the cause of freedom of speech in America.

Such a wrong was committed on December 2, 1954, when the Senate of the United States adopted a resolution in which it cited specifically the views expressed in public forums by JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, and then formally "condemned" his utterances as "conduct" tending "to obstruct the constitutional process of the Senate."

For either House of Congress to adopt a resolution "condemning" a Member because his views may be distasteful, or because the individual who uttered them may himself be disliked, is to restrict, if not to deny, freedom of speech in America.

We may accept as our guide to true liberalism the historic definition of free speech bequeathed to us by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court of the United States—the greatest of the liberal jurists. He wrote in a famous opinion that free speech is "freedom for the thought we hate."

We must ask ourselves, then, liberals and nonliberals alike: Are we tolerant enough, are we courageous enough, to endure the opinions of those in public office whom we dislike?

Now that Senator MCCARTHY is dead, it may be possible to examine without feelings of personal rancor the basic issues involved in the controversy which raged in the Senate in the autumn of 1954. It may be, of course, that there are still men in the Senate who cannot forget their personal animosities or their wounds of pride. But at least they can strive to reconsider impersonally the issues involved. They can examine their consciences and ask themselves in all humility whether the vote as taken should be left unchanged in the proceedings of the Congress of the United States, or whether it should now be reversed on the initiative perhaps of the very men who originally pressed it for passage.

For, if the resolution stands, it will remain as a blemish on the picture we have painted to the world of a nation dedicated to free speech. It is today a blot on the record of constitutional guaranties long extolled and respected in America.

To refresh our memories, it is necessary to read anew the full text of the resolution itself. It was in two sections.

One of the two sections said:

"*Resolved,* That the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. MCCARTHY] in writing to the chairman of the Select Committee To Study Censure Charges, after the select committee had issued its report and before the report was presented to the Senate charging three members of the select committee with 'deliberate deception' and 'fraud' for failure to disqualify themselves;

"In stating to the press on November 4, 1954, that the special Senate session that was to begin November 8, 1954, was a 'lynch party'; in repeatedly describing this special Senate session as a 'lynch bee' in a nationwide television and radio show on November 7, 1954;

"In stating to the public press on November 13, 1954, that the chairman of the select committee was guilty of 'the most unusual, most cowardly thing I've heard of' and stating further: 'I expected he would be afraid to answer the questions, but didn't think he'd be stupid enough to make a public statement'; and

"In characterizing the said committee as the 'unwitting handmaiden,' 'involuntary agent' and 'attorneys-in-fact of the Communist Party'; and

"In charging that the said committee in writing its report 'imitated Communist methods—that is distorted, misrepresented, and omitted in its effort to manufacture a plausible rationalizaion' in support of its recommendations to the Senate, which characterizations and charges were contained in a statement released to the press and inserted in the Congressional Record of November 10, 1954, Senator McCarthy acted contrary to senatorial ethics and tended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute, to obstruct the constitutional processes of the Senate, and to impair its dignity; and such conduct is hereby condemned."

This is an indictment of free speech. However unpleasant may be the words and however displeasing to individual Members of the Senate, the fact remains that Senator McCarthy's statements were expressions of opinion concerning the members of a committee who, Senator McCarthy was convinced, were unfairly trying to stigmatize him.

It will be noted that none of Senator McCarthy's statements was made during sessions of the Senate. The Senate, by its rules, may call to order anyone who speaks discourteously of another Senator on the floor of the Senate, and, of course, any Member of Congress who is criticized outside the sessions of Congress may have recourse to the courts, where the laws of libel and slander can be invoked.

The Senate of the United States is, however, not vested with the power to punish its Members for speeches made or even acts committed outside the Senate, except that it may expel a Member for any reason whatsoever.

But the Senate did not in its action in the case of Senator McCarthy raise the question of expulsion. It adopted instead a resolution of condemnation. The comments it considered objectionable were all made outside the Senate and on subjects highly controversial—emotional expressions of bitterness that were obviously the result of continuous provocation.

PROVOCATIVE SPEECHES

Indeed, the select committee itself, which considered the censure charges, said in its report that it had eliminated one of Senator McCarthy's denunciations of a fellow Senator as a basis for "censure" and acknowledged frankly that his outburst was due to the other Senator's "provocative speeches."

What price provocation? If we examine all the statements made against Senator McCarthy in the long period of controversy prior to the time when the Senate voted its resolution, we will find that the words he is cited in the resolution as using are mild and restrained as compared with the epithets and invectives hurled against the junior Senator from Wisconsin by some of his colleagues, both on and off the floor of the Senate.

Let us examine a few of them:

1. On September 28, 1951, a United States Senator demanded in the Senate the expulsion of Senator McCarthy. In a 10-point indictment Senator McCarthy was accused of lying under oath, accepting influence money, hoaxing the Senate, practicing calculated deceit, engaging in election frauds, and making irresponsible, libelous, and false statements.

2. On February 10, 1952, in a speech outside the Senate, the same United States Senator declared that Senator McCarthy "has now added blackmail" to "deceit and falsehood" in attacking those who disagreed with him.

3. On May 7, 1954, a United States Senator characterized the hearings being conducted by Senator McCarthy, chairman of a Senate investigating committee, as "unsavory" and "sordid" and declared that "the American people can see at first hand some of the methods that have been employed, such as doctored pictures and counterfeit, phony letters."

4. On June 1, 1954, a United States Senator said of Senator McCarthy: "Were the junior Senator from Wisconsin in the pay of the Communists he could not have done a better job for them." The same Senator added later:

"The real heart of the mystery concerns the personal relationships of the Army private, the staff assistant, and the Senator."

Another statement:

"His (Senator McCarthy's) anticommunism so completely parallels that of Adolf Hitler as to strike fear into the hearts of any defenseless minority."

5. On June 12, 1954, another United States Senator, in a public speech outside the Senate, said:

"What is the source of the most effective damage being done to the United States today? What network of Communist spies and saboteurs could have succeeded in turning this Nation upside down and inside out, in paralyzing the Army and Congress and in sabotaging the defense effort in terms of delay and interruptions beyond any reckoning of it? No Communist could have done it. But McCarthy has accomplished it as a mere side effect of his activities."

6. On June 13, 1954, a United States Senator, in a nationwide television broadcast, declared that Senator McCarthy was seeking to be the sole private eye, prosecutor, judge, jury and sentencer.

7. On June 27, 1954, a United States Senator made a statement similar to one of June 1 about Senator McCarthy's position. He said: "It very closely parallels the fanaticism that Hitler had over his people."

8. On July 18, 1954, a United States Senator, in a speech in the Senate, referred to the excesses and crimes of Hitler and fascism and then declared:

"Each of these features finds its parallel, though it must be admitted to a weaker degree, in the career of the junior Senator from Wisconsin."

Need there be given any more citations of contumacious conduct or of vilifying statements against Senator McCarthy in the months that an organized campaign against the junior Senator from Wisconsin was being carried on, which was finally climaxed by the Senate's decision to appoint a committee to consider the proposal of censure.

Every one of the statements recited in the Senate resolution which condemned Senator McCarthy was made by him after the Senate committee on censure had assailed him, either at its hearings or in its report filed on September 27, 1954.

It might be argued that the long list of statements by other Senators excoriating Senator McCarthy should also have been subject to a resolution of condemnation. If, indeed, the precedent established in the resolution voted by the Senate itself on December 2, 1954, became Senate law, then not only was the Senate remiss in 1954, but it is remiss now in failing to pass resolutions of condemnation of the statements of similar import made inside and outside the Senate since 1954 by those Senators who have publicly impugned the character and integrity of their colleagues and of the President of the United States.

A RULE FOR ONE SENATOR ONLY?

It is difficult to see why, in view of the record of abuse directed at Senator McCarthy, it is what he alone said that was considered contrary to senatorial ethics. Will history say that only a Senator who had the temerity to fight, though clumsily at times, the menace of Communist infiltration in America was singled out for condemnation? Must it not be conceded that Senator McCarthy was the center of a very bitter controversy and that he fought back as viciously as did those who fought him?

Do words themselves actually obstruct the constitutional processes of the Senate? If so, then why is it that a filibuster by an individual Senator lasting hours and hours, tactics designed deliberately to block the passage of legislation desired by a majority, is never made the basis for a resolution by the Senate such as that which was voted against Senator McCarthy? Are there any rules even now that can be applied equally to all Senators who may be guilty of violent outbursts, or does the rule apply only to a certain type of Senator with certain types of views?

The answer must be that, no matter how intemperate the expressions of opinion, it is the intent of the Constitution to allow all manner of speeches to be recorded in Congress and to let the jury in the court of public opinion decide on the wisdom of such utterances.

It is necessary next to examine the remaining section of the resolution adopted by the Senate. It reads, in full text, as follows:

"*Resolved,* That the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, failed to cooperate with the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in clearing up matters referred to that subcommittee which concerned his conduct as a Senator and affected the honor of the Senate and, instead, repeatedly abused the subcommittee and its members who were trying to carry out assigned duties, thereby obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate, and that this conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, is contrary to senatorial traditions and is hereby condemned."

This refers specifically to the efforts of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections to obtain in 1951 and 1952 testimony from Senator McCarthy with respect to various unproven charges which were in circulation at the time.

But the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections said on January 2, 1953, in filing its final report on the subject, that "a number of its aspects have become moot by reason of the 1952 election." This was one way to take cognizance of the fact that

Senator McCarthy had won reelection to the Senate. In this connection, the report said:

"Such facts therein as were known to the people of the States particularly affected have been passed upon by the people themselves in the election."

For it is a fact that all the important issues in the proceedings of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections were published in the press before or during the campaign of 1952 in which Senator McCarthy was up for reelection.

Indeed, when the people of the State of Wisconsin on November 4, 1952, had an opportunity to defeat Senator McCarthy, they knew virtually everything he had said and all that had been said against him in his controversies. For this was a matter of record in the press of Wisconsin.

There were a few incidents later on—after the election. One was the refusal by Senator McCarthy of a written invitation to testify, sent him by the same Senate subcommittee on November 21, 1952. Incidentally, this was the first formal invitation to testify ever sent to Senator McCarthy by instruction of the subcommittee during its 16 months of life. He actually had testified voluntarily before this subcommittee on July 3, 1952, and could then have been asked any questions the members desired, for the charges against him had been widely published by that time.

Another point cited against Senator McCarthy was that he wrote on December 1, 1952, a denunciatory letter in which he charged that the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections had impugned his honesty and integrity without evidence to support its charge. He declared also that the subcommittee was politically motivated.

But these are plainly expressions of opinion by a United States Senator. If they were violations of senatorial conduct, the Senate had a right on January 3, 1953—the day after the subcommittee's report was submitted—to ask Senator McCarthy, as he presented his credentials of admission for a second term, to step aside while his qualifications for membership were examined, and to ascertain whether he had "obstructed constitutional processes." Indeed, Senator McCarthy reviewed the charges against him in the subcommittee's report on the day it was filed—on January 2—and publicly challenged the Senate to refuse to seat him. But the Senate ignored the subcommittee's report and admitted him the next day for a new term.

It is a fact, moreover, that the same Senate subcommittee which had been investigating Senator McCarthy never issued a subpena requiring the presence of the Senator at its hearings. It merely issued "invitations." No Senate rule, therefore, was violated by Senator McCarthy in refusing to testify a second time. No legal processes were "obstructed."

Again and again Senators for various reasons decline "invitations" to testify. So do many citizens. It is an established custom. It implies no illegality.

THE LA FOLLETTE PRECEDENT

What, however, were the "senatorial traditions" in cases in which a Senator was under charges of misconduct? The record shows that the elder Robert M. La Follette, senior Senator from Wisconsin, in a parallel case, declined to testify before a Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections and ignored letters from the same subcommittee.

The case arose when a resolution was offered in the Senate demanding the expulsion of Senator La Follette because he was charged with being "a teacher of disloyalty and sedition, giving aid and comfort to our enemies, and hindering the Government in the conduct of the war." The charge was first filed by the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety in September 1917, during World War I, because of speeches made by Senator La Follette allegedly interfering with the prosecution of the war. Both houses of the Legislature of the State of Wisconsin, by overwhelming vote, requested the United States Senate to expel the Wisconsin Senator. Senator La Follette, however, demanded the right to cross-examine witnesses and said publicly that the committee "denies me the right to a definite statement of the offense of which I am accused and the evidence upon which the charge is supported—a right which is accorded to every man called to answer even for a mere misdemeanor."

This was precisely the position taken in 1952 by Senator McCarthy. He said that he would appear in response to a subpena but that he would demand the right to have his attorney cross-examine witnesses and to be advised of the charges against him. The Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections never issued such a subpena. It never assured him of the right to cross-examine witnesses and to be advised specifically of the charges against him. Though this is the very code that so-called liberals have lately espoused in urging similar rights for those accused of communistic activities or associations, the subcommittee did not afford Senator McCarthy "due process." Only when the censure committee started its proceedings were Senator McCarthy and his counsel permitted to cross-examine witnesses. He himself was interrogated at length and submitted to cross-examination.

The record shows that, when Senator La Follette appeared briefly before the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections on October 16, 1917, he filed a long letter and defiantly walked out without permitting any questioning or cross-examination. The committee heard Gilbert E. Roe, attorney for Senator La Follette. He made a lengthy argument disputing the Senate's right to punish Senator La Follette except by expulsion. A number of constitutional lawyers of eminence in the Senate at the time sat on that committee. Mr. Roe told the committee:

"Now, the power, under the constitution of the Senate, to expel is unlimited. The power, however, to punish is limited to punishment for violation of its rules and for disorderly behavior. And in this case either Senator La Follette's speech is sufficient to put him out of the Senate or no action can be taken upon it at all."

"Do you think," Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, "the Senate has inherent power to censure?"

"No, sir, not at all," replied Mr. Roe. "There is no doubt about that question."

The Senate subcommittee finally decided not to recommend the censure or expulsion of Senator La Follette.

Yet the Senate in December 1954 said, in effect, that refusal by Senator McCarthy to accept an invitation to testify and his denunciation of a committee for activities which the Wisconsin Senator deemed improper and politically motivated made him guilty of obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate and of having acted contrary to senatorial traditions.

Can the Senate today in all fairness disregard the precedent established in the case of Senator La Follette, whom it has now selected as one of the five great Senators whose portraits are to be placed in the Senate's own hall of fame?

The vote in 1954 on the resolution to condemn Senator McCarthy was bitterly partisan so far as the Democrats were concerned.

While the Republicans split and voted 23 to 22 to condemn Senator McCarthy's refusal to testify before a Senate committee and 25 to 19 against condemnation of Senator McCarthy's utterances, the Democrats voted solidly in favor of both sections of the resolution of condemnation.

Why wasn't there a single Democratic Senator, out of the 48 in the Senate at that time, willing to recognize the free-speech issue as transcending party passion?

This is so out of keeping with the traditions of the party of Thomas Jefferson, and so far afield from the great traditions of the Democratic Party itself, that apparently only ephemeral considerations of partisan politics influenced the Democrats to vote as they did.

Unquestionably at the time the Republicans were embarrassed by the split in their own party. It was presumably considered "good politics" by the Democrats to compound the embarrassments of the Republicans.

But the record of the Democratic Party on the subject of intemperate language and invectives is not too clean, either.

President Truman, in a speech in Oklahoma City on September 28, 1948—as recorded and transcribed by the New York Times—said:

"The fact of the matter is that the Republican Party is unwittingly the ally of the Communists in this country. This is clearly shown in the election record of the Communist Party."

Yet some Democrats have been saying they felt aggrieved at Senator McCarthy because he had implied that the Democratic Party was a party of treason.

Both implications are to be deplored. Yet, after all, these are expressions of opinion, and certainly it is a sorry day for the American Republic when formal resolutions are adopted in the United States Senate condemning one of its Members for mere words in the polemics of the political forum.

No Senator, moreover, should have been permitted to sit in judgment on this case who had himself been a party to the proceedings against Senator McCarthy—neither the members of the committee which sought to uncover alleged irregularities in his personal affairs nor those who filed censure charges on the floor of the Senate. Did not these Senators constitute themselves simultaneously as judge, jury and prosecutor? Should not many of these Senators have voluntarily disqualified themselves from voting? Senator McCarthy, to his credit it must be said, was present but did not vote for or against the resolution condemning him.

If a Senator commits an offense on the floor of the Senate, he is subject to the rules of the Senate. No resolutions of condemnation are adopted when Senators speak ill of each other. The presiding officer merely calls to order, and the speakers proceed as usual.

The Constitution itself says explicitly that Senators and Representatives are immune from arrest during their attendance at the sessions of their respective Houses and that "for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place."

If any Senator or Member of the House is convicted of a crime in a court of law, he is properly subject to expulsion from Congress. But the least that traditional justice has required is that the courts of law be permitted to take their natural course. It is not justice to administer punishment to any man until his guilt is proved in a court. To do so is to condone a form of lynching.

For what the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections was undertaking, prior to the election of November 1952, was an investigation of the personal income taxes and finances of the junior Senator from Wisconsin. It so happened that the Internal Revenue Bureau had begun an inqury as a result of widely circulated charges on these very points. Senator McCARTHY rightly refused to furnish political capital to his enemies by dignifying the charges.

OFFICIAL RECORD ACQUITS

In October 1953—more than a year before the so-called censure resolution was voted on—the Attorney General of the United States wrote to the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration that the report of its Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections with respect to the personal affairs of Senator McCARTHY—submitted to the Department of Justice in January 1953—had been carefully reviewed by the Criminal Division of the Department "as to possible offenses within the Department's jurisdiction" and that the "report fails to show the commission of any such offenses."

At that time—in 1953—the Department of Justice said it had not yet received the report of the Internal Revenue Bureau on the income taxes of Senator McCARTHY. The same Senate subcommittee had implied previously that the Senator did not report in his income certain sums, allegedly used for his personal benefit, which were raised to finance his fight against communism. The Treasury Department under the Truman administration had investigated the same charges, as did the succeeding administration. Then on April 19, 1955, Senator McCARTHY received a check from the Internal Revenue Bureau of $1,046.75 as a refund for overpayment of taxes. The Bureau's letter of that date gave him a clean bill of health for all the tax years in dispute, from 1946 through 1952.

These have always been properly matters for the Bureau of Internal Revenue of the Treasury Department to settle or prosecute, as the case may be. It has never been the province of a Senate committee to prosecute alleged violations of the law.

This final action by the Treasury Department on April 19, 1955, came less than 5 months after the Senate had adopted its resolution of condemnation. The official record, therefore, now attests that Senator McCARTHY was found innocent of any crime and that there was no deficiency in his income taxes—that, in fact, he had overpaid them.

Will the Senate now do justice to a man proved innocent of the charges and innuendoes levelled against him by a "kangaroo court" of the Senate?

The writer, in an editorial on these pages on October 29, 1954, wrote with reference to the "censure" resolution then pending in the Senate:

"The proposed action is unprecedented in the entire history of the Senate.

"There have been three cases in the past in which 'censure' has been voted. Two of them involved physical behavior—fist fights on the floor of the Senate—and the third was concerned with the ineligibility of a member of a Senator's own staff to attend executive sessions of a committee over which the Senator in question presided as chairman.

"While the Constitution specifically grants to the Senate the power to punish its members for 'disorderly behavior,' there has been no censure ever voted for 'disorderly' speeches or statements of individual Senators. Before the special select committee submitted its report proposing to censure Senator McCarthy, there was never offered in the Senate such a proposal to curtail freedom of speech.

"The Senate, of course, can adopt any new rules that it pleases. But never in the past has the Senate sought by ex post facto action to apply retroactively any new rule or code of behavior. To do so violates the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution. It is not dislike of a man which is the issue, but a procedure that will affect our system of government for generations to come. It is of transcendent importance to the preservation of the freedom of the Senate itself to examine the basis for the most unusual action now recommended."

Fortunately, the Senate did decide finally not to use the word censure in its resolution. Nor did it claim that the resolution was being passed under the power to "punish" which is mentioned in the Constitution. For no penalty was imposed.

By the use of the word "condemned," many Members of the Senate undoubtedly felt they were softening the blow. They declined to apply "censure" in the legal sense in which the term "contempt" is used.

But the whole world was nevertheless informed that in the Senate of the United States, whenever the views of a minority member do not find favor with the majority, he may receive the "condemnation" of his colleagues. He is warned and may be intimidated by the prospect that, if he does not alter his views or mode of speech to conform to the majority will, he may be subject to punishment by expulsion.

SENATE CAN ERASE ITS MISTAKE

The Senate can undo today the grave injury it has done. It can adopt a simple resolution expunging from the record the vote of December 2, 1954, with respect to the junior Senator from Wisconsin. This would serve notice to generations to come that the Senate in a moment of passion, in a moment of political bitterness directed at a Senator who had himself been the victim of provocative statements, passed a resolution which does not belong in the record of the Senate of the United States. Millions of voters feel that the death of Senator McCarthy on May 2, 1957, was due in part to a physical condition brought on by months of agonizing tension growing out of the persecution he suffered at the hands of the Senate. These are matters of sentiment. What we are concerned with here are principles that are above personalities—principles of constitutional law and of simple justice.

It may be that more years will have to elapse before Senators now still harboring their grievances against Senator McCarthy have passed from the stage, and other Senators are elected who will in due time examine impartially the whole record and do justice. But it would be a tremendous encouragement to true liberalism in the world today and a fine example of confession of error for the Senate now to cast from its record the resolution which it passed on December 2, 1954.

Just as the elder Senator La Follette is now elevated to the Hall of Fame of the Senate—thereby setting aside the many bitter things that were said about him and apparently forgiving him for his refusal to testify before a Senate committee—so today may the Senate restore its own dignity and repair its own prestige by showing that it has the courage to admit that it made a mistake in its resolution of December 2, 1954.

Joseph R. McCarthy, twice elected Senator from Wisconsin, is dead—but the memory of the injustice done him by the Senate of the United States lives on. When will justice be done? Must history wait?

Remarks by Senator Bridges

Of New Hampshire

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article entitled "Love Outlives Hate; You Can Feel Joe's Triumph," which appeared in the May 4, 1957, issue of the Chicago Daily Tribune. The article was written by Mrs. Ruth McCormick Tankersley, who was formerly editor of the Washington Times-Herald, and who is a very able person and an extremely talented writer.

LOVE OUTLIVES HATE; YOU CAN FEEL JOE'S TRIUMPH—THINK WHAT THIS MAN HAS DONE IN 48 YEARS

(By Ruth McCormick Tankersley)

(Mrs. Ruth McCormick Tankersley, a niece of the late Col. Robert R. McCormick, has been a close student of Washington affairs and personalities in recent years. The following is her appraisal and tribute to the character and deeds of the late Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY.)

WASHINGTON, May 3.—JOE McCARTHY is lying in a casket waiting for a requiem Mass, waiting for a service in the Senate Chamber, waiting to be flown to his home, Appleton, Wis., to be laid finally to rest with his mother and father. These days symbolize his life—he belonged to his church, to his country, and finally and constantly to his family.

But JOE McCARTHY was always a restless man, impetuous, impatient with formality. His friends, sitting in his home with his family, can already feel his restless spirit stirring. The spirit, the soul that was JOE McCARTHY was a white hot spirit of terrible intensity and it caught on fire every soul who came in contact with it.

He inspired hundreds, he infuriated some, he aggravated many. He aggravated those who knew he was right but did not have the courage to follow him, he infuriated the enemies of our Republic and he inspired all those kindred spirits who line the byways of America and populate its crowded cities and feed the Nation from their farms.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

LOVE OUTLIVES HATRED

Love and courage have always outlived hatred and cowardice and already you can feel JOE McCARTHY's coming triumph. How many people can die and leave behind them what he has left? You have only to sit in his house at this moment to see a tremendous inheritance. Over the desk, where I am writing, is a picture of the Pope with his personal blessing to JOE McCARTHY and his family.

His worthiness of this blessing can be seen in every statue in his house, in the rosary hanging on his baby's crib, in the humanity which made him seem like a personal friend to a million people in this country. I can hear him struggling to control his voice, knuckling an unwonted dampness from his eyes as he spoke before 10,000 people of the American boys abandoned in Red China.

Every McCARTHY partisan in public life already feels a surge of determination to carry on the fight which JOE McCARTHY sometimes fought singlehandedly. His few friends in the Senate who stood by him against all odds are grim and militant such as I have never seen them. It is as if they were taking up arms to avenge a friend cut down in battle. That is the way they feel about it and that is the way it is.

JOE IS LAUGHING

Also, in front of me on this little desk is a picture of JOE McCARTHY and Jeannie, his wife. They are looking into each other's eyes and JOE is saying something and JOE is laughing. It was ever thus. JOE loved to talk, to tell stories and anecdotes and tell about people. He seldom let Jeannie finish a story and she seldom cared. Poked in the frame is a snap of JOE looking into the laughing face of one of the dearest persons in his life, Elizabeth Kerr, his mother-in-law.

You can tell that he just said something outrageous to her and that he loved to see this picture because he loved to see her laugh. In the 24 hours since sadness pervaded the McCARTHY house we haven't heard a baby cry. The McCARTHYS' little adopted daughter, Tierney, in the knowing way of a 5-month-old baby, has eaten all her meals without a word and done more for her mother with her smiles and gurgles than an army of well-meaning friends.

Forty-eight is very young to die. Think what this man has done in 48 years. The intensity of his convictions made him appear tough. Actually, he was the biggest softie in the world, as any child that ever knew him will tell you. It says in the report that he died of a liver ailment but it's an ailment that seldom kills anyone. I think we all know of what JOE McCARTHY died.

ENEMIES DIDN'T KILL HIM

One cause was a greater brainwashing than any of those boys in China, for whom he has fought so valiantly. A big cause was the formal censorship by so many of his colleagues in the Senate. His enemies never let up on him. It is a terrible thing. But don't ever think that his enemies have killed JOE MCCARTHY. They will find that as long as they live JOE MCCARTHY will become more potent every day, that he may well be a more invincible enemy in his grave than he was alive.

We won't say "Goodby" to JOE MCCARTHY because his is not a spirit that would seek rest until the enemies of his country, the godless hypocrites among us, and those who endanger the future of Tierney McCarthy are driven out of all influence and power. JOE will be with those who carry on his fight, his courage and constant comfort, and his name will prick the conscience of men in public life for centuries to come.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY at a Wisconsin GOP Club dinner in Milwaukee on February 9, 1957. It contains an analysis of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the proposed treaty, which I believe warrants the attention of all.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR JOE MCCARTHY, WISCONSIN GOP CLUB, LINCOLN DAY DINNER, FEBRUARY 9, 1957, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

My fellow Americans, there are a number of vital issues that Congress will be dealing with between now and July. I wish we had time tonight to discuss each one of them. But if I may, I would like to concentrate on a treaty—an extremely important treaty—that will come up for Senate ratification in a few weeks. So far, this treaty has been all but ignored by the press, and by practically all of the Senators who will vote on it.

Ordinarily, I would not take up your time discussing a treaty; they are usually fairly boring matters. But this one will not bore you. More likely, it will shock you; for it presents a threat of enormous proportions to the safety and independence of the United States. I am referring to a treaty that would in the name of "Atoms for Peace," set up an International Atomic Energy Agency.

I am sure you have all heard of the highly touted "Atoms for Peace" program. And you have probably been wondering what, exactly, is involved behind the glowing generalities. Well, this proposed treaty furnishes the answers—and they are not exactly reassuring. So tonight I suggest we lift up the curtain of pious platitudes, and take a look at the concrete proposals. Unless we can alert the American people to what is in the treaty, and arouse them, it is a foregone conclusion that when it comes up for ratification, the Senate will—as it has so often in the past—simply roll over and play dead.

First of all, what is this treaty supposed to accomplish? The idea, roughly, is to provide a means by which nations that have the technical know-how and material necessary to produce atomic energy can give their know-how and atomic materials to nations that do not have them. For this purpose, an International Agency is to be set up which will act as a kind of international broker to receive the atomic information and material from the "haves" and distribute it to the "have-nots." This idea of sharing the wealth might seem rather appealing on the surface. As we shall see, however, offering to share our atomic wealth is in a class with the Chicago Police Department offering to share its pistols and submachine guns with the Dillinger mob.

The United States is, of course, a "have" nation with regard to atomic materials—and we have already acted accordingly. The President of the United States has already promised to give 5,000 kilograms of Uranium–235 to the Agency for distribution to other countries, effective the day the Agency comes into being. What is more, we have promised to give an additional 15,000 kilograms during the next 3 years—provided a similar amount is given during that period by all of the other nations of the world combined.

I want to repeat that: as of now, the President has already committed the United States to make a gift of 5,000 kilograms of U–235, which will be made available immediately, no strings attached. In addition to that, we will give 15,000 kilograms between the time the Agency is set up and 1960, if the other nations of the world, combined, furnish a like amount.

No other nation has made any commitment whatsoever. Nor are they required to; the treaty provides, simply, that each nation "may" contribute "special fissionable materials" to the Agency, and that each nation "should" make available to the Agency technical atomic information. So that for the moment, the United States is the only nation on the "giving" end of the deal.

The "giving," of course, will be done by you, the American taxpayer. Twenty thousand kilograms of uranium 235 costs, roughly, $500 million—a half a billion out of your pockets to finance atomic energy development in foreign countries. And this does not take into account the operating expenses of the Agency of which, naturally, the United States will pay the lion's share.

But money—however important—is only a small matter compared with the threat to our national security presented by a gift of uranium 235. For U–235 is a military material.

We are planning to furnish the uranium isotope 235, enriched by 20 percent. Every competent scientist agrees that such uranium can be quickly brought from 20 percent enrichment to enrichment sufficient for production of atomic bombs. Moreover, the Atomic Energy Commission has said that 94 percent of the cost of enriching uranium to the 90 percent necessary for making atomic weapons has already been paid when the isotope is 20 percent enriched. This means that when the United States gives the International Agency 5,000 kilograms of U–235, we will, for all practical purposes, have given the material to make in the neighborhood of 550 atomic bombs.

By the time we have given 20,000 kilograms we will have given the material to make 2,200 atomic bombs—enough to wipe every major American city off the map.

In other words, what has been sold to the public in glowing terms as an "Atoms for Peace" program is, potentially, an "Atoms for War" program.

The nations that receive this atomic material are not, of course, supposed to use it for war purposes. But my point is that no responsible scientists and no responsible proponent of the treaty—in the administration or outside of it—will deny that this material can easily be converted into atomic bombs. That being the case, the next question becomes terribly important: Who will belong to the Agency—what countries will receive our atomic materials?

The answer is: Every member of the United Nations that ratifies the treaty. This means, of course, that Communist Russia, Communist Yugoslavia, Communist Rumania, Communist Bulgaria and all of the Communist satellites in Eastern Europe will belong, and will be entitled to atomic materials furnished by the United States. But that isn't all. Nations that are not members of the United Nations may, by majority vote of the Agency, be admitted to the Agency after it has been set up. Therefore, since there is no veto, it is a foregone conclusion that Red China will be among the nations to which we will be donating materials that can be used to make atomic bombs.

Now, how will the Agency make its decisions? This is another matter that the "Atoms for Peace" propagandists do not discuss.

Overall policy recommendations for the Agency will be made by a "General Conference" in which the United States will have 1 vote out of some 70 or 80.

The day-to-day decisions as to how and where the atomic material will be distributed will be made by a Board of Governors, to be composed of 23 members. Thanks to the incredibly confused language of the treaty, it is impossible to be sure just who will belong to this Board. As I interpret the gobbledygook, the United States is likely to have 1 representative on the Board, and the Communist bloc is likely to have 4. But another interpretation is possible: the United States could have 2 members on the Board, in which case the Communist bloc could have 8.

Anyway you look at it, the United States has about as much to say about what the Agency does as Uruguay or Afghanistan; and we have a good deal less to say than Soviet Russia with her string of satellites.

Now, my good friends, do you begin to see the picture? The United States will give to the International Agency 5,000 kilograms of U–235—15,000 more later on—which can be used to make atomic bombs, enough bombs to destroy every major city in the United States. We then lose all control over the U–235. The Agency, in which the Communists have more power than we do, can turn around and allocate our atomic materials to Nasser in Egypt, or to Nehru in India, or to Communist Rumania, or to Russia itself; and there is nothing we can do about it. But that isn't all.

The Agency can require the United States to put the material on American ships and deliver it, if you please, to Communist ports. I ask you, my friends: How insane can we get in this topsy-turvy world of ours? Incredible as it seems, I, a United States Senator, am being asked to vote for a treaty that would take your money and use it to pay for the transportation of our atomic materials to Communist nations—materials that may very well be returned to us in the form of atomic bombs dropping on American cities. I promise you, I shall never cast that vote.

Those who favor us joining the International Atomic Energy Agency answer these objections by citing the treaty's so-called safeguards. I say "so-called safeguards" because, for all the protection they give us, they might as well not be there. The treaty provides that the Agency shall have the authority to send inspectors into the countries that receive our atomic materials in order to see if the materials are being used for peaceful or military purposes. The inspectors are to be chosen by the Agency after consultation with the state or states concerned, that is after consultation with the country that has received the material.

Now there are at least four reasons why this inspection provision gives us inadequate protection. Here is the first. Our atomic experts have testified that in order to detect the diversion of atomic materials to military projects, inspection would have to be carried on 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. But the treaty does not require that kind of inspection; it leaves it up to the Agency in which the United States has only one vote.

Here is the second reason. The inspectors may themselves be Communists, and in all likelihood, at least some of them will. If the country to be inspected is, let us say, Communist Russia, the inspectors must be chosen after consultation with Russia. Whether this gives Russia a veto over the inspectors, the treaty does not make clear. In any event, the Russians and other Communist countries are heavily represented in the Agency itself, and they would be bound to insist on at least some of the inspectors being Communists. You can imagine the chances of getting a straightforward, unbiased report from Communist inspectors, or, for that matter, from a team composed of Communists, neutralists, and a few representatives of the Free World. The Communists know how to deal with such situations, and they would probably be able to obstruct things so that a report would never be made.

The third reason is this: even assuming that the inspectors report to the Agency that, say Egypt or Red China, has started to build atomic bombs with the material we have furnished, there is nothing the Agency can do about it except to deny any further materials to the country in violation of the agreement. And there is no assurance that even that would be done.

In other words, there is no corrective provision at all, no provision for going into the country and forcibly retrieving the material that is being used for atomic bombs. At best, the Agency will simply wring its hands and say, "Well, just for that, you don't get any more."

This assumes, of course, that a majority of the Board of Governors will go along with us if a Communist country starts making atomic bombs with our materials. The Board—on which we would have only one, or at most, two representatives—might very well close its eyes to the violation and, in that case, the shipments of atomic material will continue, and the United States will be left wringing its hands in a solo act.

But the worst is still to come. The fourth reason the so-called safeguards are inadequate is that, under the treaty, the Agency charter can, itself, be amended by a two-thirds vote of the General Conference. Therefore, it is possible for two-thirds of the members to get together and say, "We will amend this treaty so as to provide expressly that all materials that have been contributed to the Agency can be used by the countries that receive them for military purposes, and, in addition, we will do away with all inspections."

Such an amendment would not, to be sure, be binding on the United States unless the Senate ratified it. But supposing the Senate refused to ratify it; what would happen? Well, the treaty is very generous about that. In case an amendment is made that we can't stomach, we may withdraw from the Agency. That is just fine, isn't it? After we have contributed millions of dollars' worth of atomic materials to the Agency and after the Agency has decided, against our wishes, that it will formally approve the use of those materials for military purposes by our enemies, and will cancel all inspections, we may, if you please withdraw.

Wouldn't it be a good deal easier, my friends, if we were just to send a shipload of atom bombs over to the Communist empire and be done with it?

In short, the International Atomic Energy Agency is a device by which the United States can be trapped into building up the atomic armament potential of our enemies. Of course, the administration does not intend it to be used for that purpose; the point is that it can be used and most likely will be used, for that purpose under this treaty—our intentions notwithstanding. And I shall vote for no such treaty as that.

There is one further point I want to make. The United States has already entered into 37 bilateral agreements with various friendly countries concerning research and the construction of atomic power reactors, under conditions that provide some measure of self-protection to the United States. Therefore, why can't the "Atoms for Peace" program be pursued under these bilateral agreements? Why do we need this treaty? Why do we have to go into an international monstrosity that deprives us of our protection and that includes our enemies along with our friends as recipients of American largesse?

The answer is that there is no answer, except that some of the people who make our foreign policy are always at work, thinking up some new, splashy proposal to take our minds off our continued foreign policy defeats. This treaty is one such proposal. Well, I can tell you this: The United States is not going to defeat communism by trying to out-Hollywood the Soviet Union. Flashy, spectacular giveaway programs are no substitute for a foreign policy. And when they involve, as this one does, a dire threat to the military security of the United States, they must be firmly rejected.

Now, let me jump to a somewhat different, though not entirely unconnected, subject—the probable headlines in tomorrow's newspapers. It will be said in some quarters that President Eisenhower is in favor of the International Atomic Energy Agency and that, therefore, by opposing the Agency, McCarthy "attacked" Eisenhower.

Now it is perfectly true that the President has come out for the treaty I have been discussing with you tonight. I may add that I hope he will change his mind. In fact, I have been advised by some Republicans—not "modern Republicans," mind you, but the other kind—that the President was badly advised on the treaty and is now considering changing his position.

But regardless of what the President finally does, and regardless of his reasons for doing it, I am getting sick and tired of attempts to construe every difference of opinion on issues between the President and myself as evidence of a personal feud.

I have not the slightest desire to enter into a personal controversy with the President of the United States—on this or any other issue. I have never attacked the President on a personal level, and I shall never be provoked to do so. But this does not mean, I trust, that I must follow the President, willy-nilly, when I think he is wrong.

Yet, it is suggested in some quarters that I do just that. Let me read a part of a letter from a very good friend of mine who, because he is a good friend, I shall not name. This is my friend's advice: "Joe, what I am trying to say is that a tremendous number of people agree with your ideas and principles, but it is apparent to me that we must go forward along the conditions of the President, as they are, and not as we think they should be." That is putting the proposition in its baldest form; that we Republicans must conform with the conditions the President has laid down, even though we believe them to be unwise and wrong. Now I ask you: Can any man of integrity do that? Do you want me to do that?

There is another course, one that I prefer. I have taken an oath to defend the Constitution of the United States as best I can; and I am under a solemn contract with you, the people of Wisconsin, that as long as I am your United States Senator I shall work for the policies I believe to be right. Therefore, when the administration adopts policies that I think are wrong, I have but two alternatives: Either I can oppose those policies, or I can resign. I have no intention of resigning.

To the extent that I am able to support the policies of the administration I shall continue to do so, readily and enthusiastically. But if the administration promotes policies that I believe will harm our country, then I shall oppose those policies and champion others. I shall take my stand on the issues and I shall do so regardless of the respect I might have for the President and his office, and regardless of the contempt I may have for the "palace guard."

Let me add that this would be my policy no matter who is in the White House—whether it be Dwight Eisenhower or Harry Truman, or, for that matter, someone like my great and good friend, the late Senator Taft. If Senator Taft were President, I imagine there would be a number of occasions when I would feel I had to oppose some of his policies—and being acquainted with the right and duties of a United States Senator, that is exactly what he would want me to do.

As a matter of fact, when we were in the Senate together I did oppose Taft on a matter very close to his heart. I thought that Taft's housing bill was, in some respects, inadequate, and, in others, too costly and unrealistic. As a result, I rewrote the entire Housing Act, which, incidentally, passed the Senate without a single dissenting vote. Bob Taft bore me no ill will for that; in fact, as I have indicated, he ended up supporting my bill. I do not, obviously, insist that President Eisenhower adopt my views. But I do insist that the differences of opinion between us be resolved on the merits of the issues that separate us.

One issue, for example, on which I do not see eye to eye with the President is the size of this year's budget. The administration's budget for 1958 is a call for Federal spending that, believe it or not, far outdoes Harry Truman in his wildest spending spree. A brief look at that budget will, in Secretary Humphrey's phrase, "curl your hair."

The President's 1958 budget figure is $71.8 billion, but this is only a part of the picture, for if we include, as we must, the amounts to be spent from so-called trust funds for various welfare measures and highway construction, the figure is $84 billion. This is the highest budget since World War II—even higher than during the Korean war years.

Now if, from this $84 billion, we deduct $45.8 billion which will be spent on national defense and our foreign-aid programs, and also $7.4 billion that have to be spent in interest payments on our national debt, we find that the administration is proposing to spend $30.9 billion on domestic measures alone. I ask you to compare that figure with the last and highest budget of Harry Truman, which allotted for domestic measures $19.7 billion. Therefore, incredible as it seems, the 1958 budget is $11 billion, or 56 percent, higher than the last Truman budget—and this only in the domestic area.

The President sought to explain this amazing budget the other day by saying that the American people "desire" all this welfare spending. Well, you might desire a new car or a mink coat for your wife, but perhaps you can't afford it. Likewise, I believe this Nation cannot afford to go on spending beyond its means. I believe that what the American people desire above all is relief from the crushing burden of high taxes, and they are well aware that the only way to get tax relief is to stop spending. I shall, therefore, do everything I can to cut down this year's budget.

Let me mention one further matter on which I have differed with the President, and then I will let you go in peace. Back in the summer of 1955, you will recall, I vigorously opposed the President's decision to meet with the Communist leaders at the so-called summit meeting at Geneva. I said that it was unwise to take Communist claims of peaceful intentions at face value, and that we should not talk with them unless they agreed to discuss freeing the satellite nations. I was roundly criticized for this stand on the grounds that I was trying to "tie the President's hands."

Well, you all know what happened. Every commentator, from Walter Lippmann to Fulton Lewis, Jr., maintains, now, that the President was mistaken to endorse the "spirit of Geneva," and that great harm followed from it. The President himself, in his address to Congress last month, said much the same thing. He conceded that the administration had indulged the hope that the Soviet pattern would change after Stalin's death, but that such hopes had proved illusory. I think it follows that if more Senators had spoken their minds on this issue at the time, instead of abjectly deferring to the judgment of the White House, we would be better off today.

So let us, my fellow Americans, put the highest premium on independent thought. Let us go forward fighting for the things we believe in, earnestly but without rancor. Only in this fashion will we prove worthy of the proud heritage left us by Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Congressional Record the eulogy of Senator McCARTHY—delivered by Roy Cohn at the award luncheon to Senator William F. Knowland and Rabbi Michael Aaronsohn, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, N. Y., on May 5, 1957. Roy Cohn, a well-known New York attorney, was a counsel of the Committee on Government Operations during the period of Senator McCARTHY's chairmanship. Because of his close work with Senator McCarthy on that committee, he had a most thorough knowledge of the Senator's objectives and activities in regard to the Communist infiltration of our Government. I know of no one better qualified to express himself regarding the late Senator.

EULOGY OF SENATOR McCARTHY DELIVERED BY ROY COHN AT AMERICAN JEWISH LEAGUE AGAINST COMMUNISM AWARD LUNCHEON TO SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND AND RABBI MICHAEL AARONSOHN, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 5, 1957

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was built on greatness. He was great in mind, great in heart, great in understanding. He possessed many of those human qualities which are so rarely found on this earth. His story, which is legend, is the great American success story, that of a poor boy who had nothing handed to him on a silver platter, but rather who worked his way from a humble beginning to national distinction. During his spectacular rise, he never lost his love for people. He never engaged in fanfare or pretense. He loved average people. He would never leave an affair at which he spoke until he had shaken hands with everyone present. He would sit in a restaurant for hours talking with people who came over to his table. His patience never wore thin, and he never wearied of talking to people. People reciprocated that love for him.

During the past 2 or 3 days wherever I have gone, people have stopped me to express their sorrow—average people, people devoted to the country, people who loved him for the fight he made. In addition to his love for people, he had a tremendous personal magnetism which endeared him to friends and which was capable of converting enemies after one personal meeting. He had the type of charm that was virtually irresistible. He was deeply religious. He loved God and was devoted to his faith. He was a believer.

As we went through many things together, I would often look up and down at some of the participants and feel that they were play actors, conscious of being under observation, but never Senator McCarthy. He was completely dedicated, regardless of the personal consequences. I recall being in his office when an important decision was being discussed. He had decided to make a major speech. One of his assistants said, "Senator McCarthy, please don't do that. It will have a bad reaction against you. It will antagonize people in the most powerful quarters." Senator McCarthy replied, "Look, that is one argument I never want to hear again in this office. The question is not whether it is good for me or bad for me, but whether it is right or wrong, as that is the only thing that matters to me in my life."

As sincere and straightforward as he himself was, he was the first person in the world to forgive insincerity, unkindness, and duplicity of the worst type on the part of other people. I recall during the Army-McCarthy hearing that one member of the committee, who shall remain nameless, did everything he could to destroy Senator McCarthy privately during the course of the hearing. Shortly after it was concluded, this Senator came across us in a corridor and appeared quite embarrassed. Senator McCarthy walked over to him, greeted him cordially and extended his hand to him. I later asked the Senator how he could shake hands with a man who had done so much to hurt him. Senator McCarthy said, "He is politically ambitious and felt if he picked a fight with me it would help him politically. He didn't mean anything personal and if that is the way he wants to do things, I don't want to hold it against him."

This is the type of man to whom 10 years ago a group of loyal patriotic Americans came, bearing incredible information that due to dishonesty and disloyalty in our own State Department and other highly influential organizations working with the State Department, the downfall of Nationalist China had been brought about. This group had gone to Capitol Hill to get some Senator to raise a voice and lead the fight. They wanted the situation brought to an end before further damage was done. One of the participants said that they went to the office of 2 or 3 other Senators. These other Senators refused to take up the fight, saying it would be personally embarrassing or that the subject was too controversial. They went to Senator McCarthy. He studied the records and the files and decided he would lead that crusade.

In the course of leading that crusade, specifically he brought about exposure and elimination of leftist elements from the State Department, Defense Department, from the Government Printing Office, and from many other Government agencies. He brought about the exposure and elimination of countless Communists and fellow travelers from defense plants, from school systems, and other positions of trust in America. Far beyond his specific achievements, there was the awareness which he created in the minds and hearts of each and every American of the atheistic Communist menace. He made the American people aware of what communism was, what it was trying to do, the way in which it was trying to do it. And he rallied the American people to fight it.

In his fight he stood alone in many instances and even when he did not, his friends and colleagues will concede that he had no peer in courage and devotion to the United States of America.

While leading this fight, instead of enjoying the support and confidence of all Americans, instead of being protected against the insidious attacks of Communists and fellow travelers, he was himself subject to a type of persecution and abuse, the like of which we have never before seen in the United States of America. While trying to combat this menace of communism, he was forced to spend one-half of his time defending himself. He was abused and humiliated by the Tydings committee until the fight was taken to the people, and Tydings was defeated for reelection. The Hennings committee investigated his finances. There were allegations that he cheated on his income tax; years later, upon completion of an investigation by the Treasury Department, he was given a refund.

The great personal sacrifice to his own health is now obvious to one and all. A human being can stand so much punishment. His was a great fight, not only because of its affirmative aspects, but because he had to fight these bitter, unjustified, and unprincipled attacks.

I know if he were here he would not want sorrow, but would want renewed effort from those millions of Americans who believed with him that international communism is the greatest threat our civilization has ever known. He would want those people to carry forward constructively and try to display the same type of courage shown in his life.

In the past 2 or 3 days, I was dismayed to note in 1 or 2 papers that bad judgment had added to another feature—bad taste. Some papers can find in their hearts a kind word for only the like of Harry Dexter White or E. Herbert Norman.

I would say to you that long after those papers have ceased to circulate, and long after the Zwickers, Achesons, and Stevensons have been forgotten, Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY will be remembered as a giant of our times, an outstanding patriot of our generation, and as a man who lived and died for his country.

Remarks by Senator Butler

Of Maryland

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a resolution adopted by the Council of the City of Warwick, R. I., in memory of the late Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, of Wisconsin.

Resolved—

1. That the mayor and the City Council of the City of Warwick hereby extend to the family of the late United States Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY their heartfelt sympathy and condolences on the occasion of the untimely death of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, who succumbed on the 2d day of May 1957.

2. That the city clerk is hereby authorized and directed to forward a copy of this resolution, suitably inscribed, to Jean Fraser McCarthy, the wife of the late Senator.

3. This resolution shall take effect upon its passage.

Remarks by Senator Curtis

Of Nebraska

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, on Wednesday, May 9, 1957, the Committee on Rules and Administration adopted a memorial resolution related to the passing of our late colleague, Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin. On behalf of the chairman of the committee [Mr. Hennings], and as the ranking Republican member of the committee, I should like to read the resolution into the Record:

Whereas Joseph R. McCarthy has been called to rest by his Creator; and

Whereas the people of the State of Wisconsin as well as those of all the other States of the Union will long remember his dedicated service to the principles he cherished; and

Whereas we his colleagues on the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration will miss his enthusiastic and friendly participation in our work: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the members of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration assembled, That we hereby express our deep personal loss, and that we extend to his widow, his family, and other loved ones our heartfelt sympathy.

Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record two resolutions, with reference to the late Senator McCarthy. One was adopted by the 58th Annual Encampment of the Department of Wisconsin, United Spanish War Veterans, and the other by the Common Council of the City of South Milwaukee, Wis.

Resolution Introduced at the 58th Annual Encampment of the Department of Wisconsin, U. S. W. V., La Crosse, Wis., June 10, 1957

Whereas it has pleased the Almighty God to take from our midst, to enter into eternal life, our beloved United States Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy in life, represented that type of a constructive citizen and a United States official who was mindful of his sworn obligation to defend and protect his country and its citizens against all enemies, both within and without the confines of our Nation; and

Whereas in the fulfillment of his convictions to do justice to his sacred oath of office, he entered into controversial phases with his fellow citizens, nevertheless, at no time was he ever adjudged other than he was zealous of his creed of usefulness and guardianship of our Nation's security: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the comrades of the Department of Wisconsin, United Spanish War Veterans, assembled at our 58th annual department encampment at La Crosse, Wis., June 9 to 12, 1957, inclusive, extend to Mrs. McCarthy, his wife, our belated, profound sympathies for his early passing. However, may there be a soothing influence in this sad hour with the assurance that the memory of his convictions were truly the acts determined by his sincere desire to prove to the Nation at large of his determination to keep our Nation free from any subversive forces; and be it further

Resolved, That we, the comrade members of the Spanish-American War want to express our gratefulness for the support he has given to all of our legislation sponsored for the welfare and comfort of our comrades, wives, and dependents.

RESOLUTION IN MEMORY OF THE LATE SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Whereas JOSEPH R. McCARTHY died on May 2, 1957, at the age of 48 years; and

Whereas at the time of his demise JOSEPH R. McCARTHY represented the State of Wisconsin as a Member of the Senate of the United States; and

Whereas JOSEPH R. McCARTHY was an outstanding patriot, a courageous American, and an enemy of communism in every form; and

Whereas during his period of public service, JOSEPH R. McCARTHY fought unceasingly against the principles of communism, and, in so doing, left an indelible mark in the pages of current history; and

Whereas although he made enemies as well as friends, JOSEPH R. McCARTHY possessed the qualities of courage, determination, and the willingness to work to the limit of his ability for that which he believed was in the best interests of his country; and

Whereas the colorful figure of JOSEPH R. McCARTHY will be sadly missed, not only by his family and close friends, but by his colleagues and many friends throughout the world; and

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

Whereas it is fitting at this time that the passing of this great American be officially recognized by the city of South Milwaukee: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this resolution be adopted by the Common Council of the City of South Milwaukee, Wis., and entered in the official minute book in commemoration of the late JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, Senator, statesman, and American; and, further, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the members of his family as a token of sympathy at his passing.

Adopted May 7, 1957.

Approved May 8, 1957.

LOUIS J. MOSAKOWSKI,
City Clerk.
W. P. ATKINSON, *Mayor.*

Remarks by Senator Dirksen

Of Illinois

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, since the decease of our late colleague, Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, a large number of organizations and institutions, including State legislatures, political groups and others, have adopted resolutions expressing their deep regret and profound sympathy over the passing of this true patriot, who did so much to alert this Republic to the Communist danger.

Among such organizations is the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, who on May 8, 1957, uttered a proclamation expressing the sense of loss over the passing of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. I request unanimous consent that a copy of this proclamation be printed in the Record.

Whereas in the death of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, the United States Senate has lost one of its most courageous Members, a great Republican Senator who, like his friend, Senator Robert A. Taft, will be remembered long after his passing; and

Whereas since even before the Korean war, Senator MCCARTHY was the leader of the patriotic fight to eliminate pro-Communists and subversives from our Government and from vital defense industries; and

Whereas Senator MCCARTHY fought the Communists and their supporters at the sacrifice of his health and in spite of the fact that it made him the victim of the same organized smear tactics which forced Martin Dies out of Congress, and deprived our country of the services of Gen. Douglas MacArthur; and

Whereas Senator MCCARTHY served his party well by personally campaigning for and helping to elect many Republicans to high office, but put his country ahead of his party, and fought valiantly, in war and in peace, against our Nation's enemies; and

Whereas Senator MCCARTHY, in the great American tradition of Abraham Lincoln, rose to high office over the handicaps of poverty and lack of an early education, yet always lived a modest and exemplary personal life, and, when his income tax returns were scrutinized at the demand of his enemies, he was found by the

Democrat in charge of the Internal Revenue Bureau to have overpaid his taxes by more than $1,000: Therefore

Resolved, That the Illinois Federation of Republican Women expresses its deepest regret at the death of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, and consequent great loss to the State of Wisconsin, to the Republican Party, and to our country, and extends its heartfelt sympathies to his widow; and

Resolved further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mrs. McCarthy, to the Governor of Wisconsin on behalf of the people of Wisconsin, and to Senator Everett M. Dirksen, who courageously served on Senator McCARTHY's committee and voted against the censure of Senator McCARTHY.

Done at the spring meeting of the Illinois Federation of Republican Women on this 8th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1957.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a resolution adopted by the Senate of the State of Illinois, expressing its sorrow over the passing of the late Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, of Wisconsin.

Senate Resolution 45

Whereas the gravest threat facing this country today is world communism, which has as its objective the establishment of a world totalitarian dictatorship and the abolition of all freedoms guaranteed by and enjoyed under our constitutional form of government; and

Whereas the methods used by the exponents of communism include deceit, terriorism, espionage, sabotage, subversion, infiltration into government and our every way of life, and other treacherous and unlawful procedures; and

Whereas the Honorable JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, as United States Senator from Wisconsin, through his courageous and unceasing efforts exposed this communistic plot and awakened the American people to the dangerous threat with which we are confronted; and

Whereas this great patriot continually labored to expose and defeat all communistic endeavors to infiltrate, subvert, and eventually overthrow our form of government and our way of life; and

Whereas as a result of his courageous activities, Senator McCARTHY was made the object of attack by the Communists and the leftwing segment of the press, and was persecuted unmercifully by many persons, groups, and organizations, including many of the officials of our Government who did so in order to find favor with the leftwing press and for political gain; and

Whereas the constant struggle against communism under the strain of unjust criticism eventually weakened the strength of this great fighter for freedom, and was in no small measure responsible for his untimely death; and

Whereas the members of this senate, as well as the people of the United States and all foes of communism, are saddened by the death of Senator McCarthy, who will live throughout the history of this Nation as a courageous investigator of communistic activities and as the great American, who, despite severe and unjust opposition, awakened the American people to the treacherous communistic plot against our very way of life: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of the 70th General Assembly of the State of Illinois, That we express our sincere sorrow caused by the death of the Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy; that we extend our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. McCarthy; and that a suitable copy of this preamble and resolution be forwarded to Mrs. McCarthy and to the President pro tempore of the United States Senate.

Adopted by the senate May 9, 1957.

John Wm. Chapman,
President of the Senate.
Edward E. Fernandes,
Secretary of the Senate.

Remarks by Senator Goldwater

Of Arizona

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, there appeared in the weekly newspaper, Our Sunday Visitor, on Sunday, May 19, 1957, a very interesting and honest editorial entitled "Right or Wrong, Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, R. I. P."

RIGHT OR WRONG, SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, R. I. P.

(By Father Richard Ginder)

In the obituaries about the late Senator McCARTHY, there was much talk about his leap from relative obscurity into the headlines, about what a power he was in this country until his censure by the Senate.

The peculiar fact is that the power and statute of Senator McCARTHY were built up by his enemies, by the very publicity intended to destroy him. For a year or two, every time you picked up a magazine or a newspaper you had McCARTHY's picture beaming out at you, accompanied by a rabid, hate-slanted article describing the Senator's most recent activities. The daily press seemed to have become quite unbalanced on the subject, the result being that their writings were spoiled by all the vices they attributed to McCARTHY and thus they only succeeded in discrediting themselves rather than him.

A friend once asked how it is that the daily press is so unanimous in taking a clearly predictable view on any given point. "It seems controlled," he said, "as by one supreme boss, who sits somewhere dictating the line to be followed as each issue arises."

The fact is that it takes very few people to control the American press. A handful of men in key positions with the wire services (UP, AP, INS), the Washington reporters who hash things out together over their bourbon at the National Press Club, and perhaps the editorial writers on the New York Times and the Herald Tribune. The rest of the press throughout the country takes its cue from them.

Then, alas, once it has been decided in the Press Club bar that any certain individual is a dirty-so-and-so, he's had it. He's through. He couldn't redeem himself even if he joined the Trappists.

Of the people who read newspapers, it seems to me that there are three types: the critical and articulate readers—the clergymen, doctors, lawyers, professors, etc., who are informed students of public affairs and subscribe to several journals of opinion. These will often differ from a printed opinion, denounce it among their friends, and write an occasional letter to the editor.

But too many millions, unfortunately, allow themselves to be led around by the nose. They believe everything they read in the papers and it never occurs to them to challenge a slanted writeup, to ask for proof, to evaluate adjective and adverbs.

(Compare: "Flabby Senator Nobody lounged lazily across the desk, idly picking his nose."

("Hale and Hearty, a picture of vigorous optimism, Senator Nobody relaxed at his desk, stroking his nose in a gesture of momentary reflecting.")

Such reportorial skulduggery is swallowed whole by millions of the uncritical. For instance, one of the most amazing phenomena of the last campaign was the overnight acceptance of the "Liberal" canard that Nixon was somehow—not just the less desirable of the two candidates for the Vice Presidency, but that he was somehow immoral, untruthful, perfidious, someone who really ought to be behind bars: "Tricky Dick."

Whenever I heard that expression used, I made it a practice to ask "Why? What has he done? What's wrong with him?"

It was pathetic in practically every instance (cabdrivers, filling-station attendants, waitresses, etc.) to see the jaw drop and the baffled look creep over the face. Then the stammering and, finally, something inane: "I dunno. Seems like you always hear Tricky Dick.' Nobody likes him. 'Tricky Dick.' That's all you hear. I dunno . . ."

Those are the uncritical millions who are manipulated by the press. They think and talk as they are told—though they sometimes have a nasty way of voting against instructions and so the press is occasionally surprised by the election returns.

Finally, there are the millions of good people not gifted with a talent for expression. They read their daily paper and they think their own thoughts. In the bull session at work, they let the glib fellows do all the talking, because they themselves don't have the gift of the gab. But they do form their own opinions, and they pray for their friends in public affairs, and they vote.

Senator McCarthy was destroyed by his own integrity. He was advised again and again to lay off the Army. But he was stubborn and he kept pressing the question "Who promoted Peress?" even when he saw that he was embarrassing that whole branch of the service.

Now in this country, the Army is always right. It never makes a mistake. It cannot be allowed to lose face. Especially when there is a general in the White House. In a conflict between anyone and the Army, it is not hard to predict whose side the President would take.

Thus, McCarthy had the choice of letting up or being broken. He would not let up.

But such was the man's integrity and persistence that when the principal of that case came up recently for a promotion in the Army, the others treated his difficulties with the Senate committee as so much cold coffee, ancient history, although they were careful not to say that he perjured himself, they admitted that the officer had been less than candid, that he had not told the truth. Senator McCarthy could not forget the man's lack of cooperation with a senatorial committee, and so, out of the whole Senate, he alone voted against the promotion.

During the days when the pack was in full cry against him, the shibboleth was "I like what he is doing but I don't like his methods." As far as this writer could see, his methods were exactly those used by every other Senate investigator over the years; used by Senator McClellan against Dave Beck just recently. McCarthy asked questions; pointed questions.

Nevertheless, in those days I wrote to Washington and asked for some transcripts of the hearings. They made a 2-foot stack on my desk. Then I sat down and did my homework. I read through that stack and ended with the conclusion that there was nothing wrong with McCarthy's methods.

After that, whenever I would hear a liberal sounding off about McCarthy I would ask, "Have you read the transcripts of the hearings?" The answers varied: "I don't need to"—"I saw Ed Murrow's show"—"I heard him on the radio"—"I read his Chicago talk"—but (and this is God's truth) I did not find one liberal who had done his homework.

I have a friend who is a lawyer and who made a practice of writing to Catholic liberals and putting precisely that question to them: Have you read the record? Practically all of them answered him, and you should read those letters—all the fumbling, hemming and hawing, excuses and apologies, all adding up to the preposterous idea that you really don't have to study the sources before making up your mind. His friends have often urged that lawyer to publish all that correspondence, but he is too charitable.

There are many who think that Senator McCarthy's religion and nationality were against him. This is undoubtedly true. When you think of the influence he enjoyed back in 1953 and 1954—how he secured the defeat of Maryland's Senator Tydings and was even mentioned for the Presidency. (I doubt that he would have run, but at the time it looked as though his large popular following would have given him some bargaining power at the convention and, who knows? Perhaps a Cabinet post in the new administration.)

All this must have struck terror in the hearts of the bigots and the ignorant. They were unquestionably among those who hated him.

There were the snobs, too. If only the Senator could have been lean and elegant, a graduate of some ivy-league school, with a fine old Anglo-Saxon name instead of that hopelessly Irish McCarthy. Why, it practically reeked of peat smoke and Roman Catholicism. Perish the thought. Perish the man.

Viewed in retrospect, Senator McCarthy's only fault was patriotism—his only vice, hatred of communism. May God have mercy on his soul.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, at a recent meeting of the Arizona Federation of Republican Women a resolution was adopted which concerns our late colleague, Senator Joe McCarthy, of Wisconsin. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Record.

Arizona Federation of Republican Women.

Mrs. Jean McCarthy,
Appleton, Wis.

Dear Mrs. McCarthy:

Whereas the work of the United States Senator from Wisconsin, unselfishly dedicated to the protection of our Republic from subversive elements and to the preservation of our hard-won freedom and liberty, served ourselves and generations to follow: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Arizona Federation of Republican Women, in annual convention at Phoenix, May 3–5, 1957, commend and endorse the work of United States Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; and be it further

Resolved, That heartfelt sympathy in her bereavement be extended to Mrs. Jean McCarthy and their young daughter, Tierney Elizabeth.

Resolutions Committee,
Mrs. Robert L. Wade,
Chairman.
Mrs. Frank Haberl,
Mrs. C. O. Boyer.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Record numerous editorials and columns from newspapers all over the United States:

[From the Methodist Challenge of July 1957]

JOE McCARTHY

(By the editor)

I have little in common with Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY and yet I have much. Our bringing up was far apart. Our training was very different. I doubt if we would have been too comfortable together. He was a Roman Catholic and I am a Protestant. And yet we both loved America.

Therefore I must say a word, now that he is dead, a trophy to the hate and venom of the Communist conspiracy in his native land. I read the gloating of the Russian Communists, through their official organ. I read the vicious hate lines emitted from the red press of France, England, and Italy. I read the more cautious expressions of almost fiendish glee from the so-called Liberals, the New Dealers, and Modern Republicans of America. They had killed him. JOE McCARTHY had been as certainly mobbed as a greater Man than he was mobbed on on a hilltop outside the city nearly 2,000 years ago.

But JOE McCARTHY was a soldier. He was a casualty. He died without a word of complaint. And, strange as it may seem, when he was safely dead, the timid, shivering, quaking patriots of our great Nation proclaimed him the hero that he was. From the beginning, men have gone to their tombs and history has been written, not by leftwing journalists but by the facts that would not be crushed to death. Then the heroes of the centuries have become known and their measurements taken.

Alive, JOE McCARTHY was a lonely man, repudiated by his own comrades. Then he died, and overnight he became a tall giant, flashing his sword in the face of treason and perfidy. For this man had alerted America to the eminent peril she faced as subversive communism began to integrate her Government and her institutions. Be it said of him: He did not know how to retreat.

The fault in JOE McCARTHY that could not be forgiven was that he never learned to speak softly to the enemy of God and country. He was not even friendly with those who plotted the wreckage and ruin of the free country that he loved. At times he was almost brutal in dealing with traitors. For that they killed him.

But other days will dawn and time will steadily progress, while history tells its story. It told its story of Mitchell, of Lincoln, of

Nathan Hale. It will tell its story of Lindbergh, hated by the so-called Liberals almost as much as McCarthy. For our children will no doubt see a mammoth monument on the Capitol Grounds at Washington. Men like Joe McCarthy do not die.

"They led him as a lamb to the slaughter." And yet it is not fair to quote this immortal passage here. There was nothing lamblike about this "watchman of the citadel." His coat was not of wool. He had bristles all over him when "good old Joe" of Moscow and the agrarian reformers were fouling the atmosphere.

Old lop-eared Fife, who used to sleep and snap at flies behind the cabin where I was born, did not have a better nose for a red fox than Joe McCarthy had for a Russian Communist or an American traitor.

[From the Patchogue (N. Y.) Main Street Press of May 8, 1957]

United States Senator Joseph McCarthy

Senator McCarthy will be missed from the American scene by those who love this glorious Nation of ours.

As one newspaper described this illustrious nephew of Uncle Sam, he was "loved by millions, and hated by millions."

We were among the millions who loved Senator McCarthy. With every smear that was given him, our admiration and respect for him rose higher.

Like a skillful surgeon he probed to rout out a cancerous growth on the Star-Spangled Banner, an infection that had been fully diagnosed by such specialists as J. Edgar Hoover and many other Americans who love America.

We firmly believe that the McCarthy career will serve as an inspiration for many young Americans to follow in his ne'er-to-be-forgotten footsteps. The war on the Commie rat that infested our Government is not yet over.

Senator McCarthy can now take a long-deserved rest, because there are no Reds in Heaven. They don't believe in God.

[From the Paterson (N. J.) Morning Call of May 4, 1957]

A Great American Patriot

The man who fought the valiant fight against communism—and at times it almost seemed that he fought alone—is dead. In the afterlight of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's phenomenal career in public life no finer testimonial comes to mind than that he was probably more hated by the Communists than any other American of our time.

The Wisconsin Senator was unparalleled in his drive to rid the Government and our institutions of the putrid, antireligious thing we know as communism; he was without equal in his drive to awaken the American people to the insidious force that threatened from within as well as from the outside.

And yet, in the midst of his bold and courageous fight against the enemies of all those things we hold so sacred, he was sometimes denounced. No greater injustice was ever leveled against a patriotic citizen.

Notwithstanding, McCarthy had the courage to stand firm in the face of violent criticism; he refused to compromise or play politics, and in so doing performed a service of incalculable value against the greatest danger of our recent history.

Indeed, it often appeared that the fight he made was a personal war, and he pressed it with such fervor and resourcefulness that his name became a symbol and gave a word—McCarthyism"— to the dictionary. "McCarthyism" came to mean different things to different men, however, but now, after the fog of postwar propaganda has dissipated, we know it represented blazing courage and fearless determination to expose and destroy the menace of communism.

Joe McCarthy, his close friends frequently said, would be willing to give his life for a cause in which he truly believed. Surely he gave all within his strength and power for the cause of American freedom; and no finer epitaph than that can be written.

[From the Sarasota (Fla.) Herald-Tribune]

A Great American

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, soldier and statesman, will be buried Tuesday at Appleton, Wis., after services Monday in the Senate Chamber. The Nation's loss will become more apparent as the years pass and his work emerges to take its true place in history.

The Sarasota Herald-Tribune takes pride in the fact that it has never joined the chorus that "didn't argue with McCarthy's objectives, but deplored his methods." Joe McCarthy's methods were the only ones that could have effectively focused America's attention on insidious Communist infiltration in time to save the Nation from even greater disasters than those of China, Korea, and Eastern Europe.

Opponents and enemies have pictured Joe McCarthy as a rabid, self-seeking rabble-rouser. Those who heard McCarthy speak know the absurdity of this claim. The Senator from Wisconsin was a poor public speaker, stumbling over his words and phrases.

The successes he won came from his sincerity and stubborn, hard-headed willingness to battle any odds for the benefit of his country. And let there be no mistake—McCarthy did win. His rough-and-tumble onslaught brought the Reds in the United States a greater setback than they had ever before experienced—setbacks which daintier methods could never have achieved. The victory may not have been all that Joe hoped, but in the scales of success the balance was well on his side.

The measure of the man is in the manner in which he stood up to the vilification and slurs heaped upon him by leftists, frightened Reds, and deluded or fastidious national leaders. McCarthy died at 48, worn out by the unceasing attack he had brought upon himself by his efforts on behalf of his country. Looking back, President Eisenhower himself may feel ill at ease in remembering his unwarranted slap at a loyal American, ailing even then, when he pointedly omitted Senator McCarthy from the White House invitations.

During the rites for Senator Joe McCarthy today, someone is certain to use the hackneyed phrase "a great American."

This time it fits.

[From the Savannah Evening Press of May 3, 1957]

Senator McCarthy

Death has closed the career of United States Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, at an early age, 48, but few men, however long their years, made their presence felt in the national arena as did he.

We regard Senator McCarthy as a man who fought the good fight, fought it with the zealousness of a man dedicated to a crusade in which he most deeply believed. It was a tough battle in which he was engaged and he fought it as such. Probably, in retrospect, he himself might have modified some of his actions, but we do believe that at the time when he acted he acted in the full conviction that he was right. The sinister force he was fighting gave no quarter, Senator McCarthy asked for none, and the issues once joined were inevitably provocative of relentless defense and attack. Just as inevitably, they bred controversy, but, in our view, they also bred a senatorial figure of great stature.

If Senator McCarthy's case stood alone as to the difficulties that arise to plague those who actively seek to expose and to rout out the subversive forces that would mold this country to the Communist image, we would have to examine the situation to see whether the fault lay with him. But it is demonstratable that fighters who move forward with investigations into the evils to which we refer, become the targets of vile abuse. We call attention, for two instances, to the attacks that were made upon Congressman Martin Dies of Texas when he headed the first House Committee on Un-American Activities, and to the disdain that some liberal sources have to day for Vice President Nixon because of his actions that exposed Alger Hiss.

Senator McCARTHY, active and aggressive as he was, was the target for abuse far beyond anything the country had seen. If he fought roughly, the forces that did not want an exposé that might have uncovered the subversive influences with devastating clarity, were such that hard-hitting tactics were called for. Any probe into Communist or other subversive influences by whomsoever conducted, always runs into evasiveness, into abuse, into efforts to frustrate the inquiry. Bear that in mind before criticizing Senator McCARTHY for what we regard as a bold, unafraid demonstration of courageous Americanism.

Senator McCARTHY endured the personal abuse and the slings and arrows of ill-advised attempts to ostracize him from high places with a fortitude that was remarkable. From the days when the Senate, under a procedure that was dubious at best, criticized him, through the distressing White House tactics in what were to be the last days of his life, Senator McCARTHY bore himself in a manner that made him the final victor. He enters his long rest with the thanks of millions of his countrymen for having fought so valiantly as an American who cherished the heritage that is ours and who was resolved to defend it, come what might.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Northwest Progress]

It was highly fitting that United States marines should carry Senator McCARTHY's flag-draped casket before the altar of St. Matthew's Cathedral and into the United States Senate Chamber for his funeral services. The Marine motto, Semper Fidelis, might well be his epitaph. He was uncompromisingly and courageously faithful to God and country.

JOE McCARTHY was nurtured in faith and patriotism in his Catholic home, and in Catholic schools. These virtues were battle-tempered in his soul in the Marine Corps. His service in World War II included 13 months as combat officer for a Marine dive-bombing squadron. * * *

McCARTHY was endowed with a fighting heart, and a clear mind; he had a clean record and was an able lawyer. Had he lacked any of this equipment, they would have got him in a libel suit or perhaps on an income-tax charge, or some frameup.

Because of his sheer courage and ability, Senator McCarthy was able to awaken the American people from a somnolence which permitted officials of our State Department to picture Chinese Communists as harmless "agrarian reformers." He served his country well; and every American is forever in his debt.

May God give him eternal rest.

[From the Seattle Post Intelligencer of May 3, 1957]

Good Marine, Says Ex-CO of McCarthy

Los Angeles, May 3.—A marine who was the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's commanding officer in the South Pacific recalled him today, not as a politician or a Communist hunter, but as "a jovial Irishman and a good marine."

Lt. Col. Glenn Todd, now special services officer at nearby El Toro Marine Air Station, was Major Todd of Squadron VMSB 235, a scout bomber outfit, when the Senator was Captain McCarthy, squadron intelligence officer, in the World War II Solomons campaign.

The squadron, formed at El Centro, Calif., early in 1943, saw service at Guadalcanal, Munda, Bougainville, Midway.

"Joe was a good guy to us," Todd said in an interview today. "He did things that he needn't have done and wasn't expected to do, particularly flying on missions. That wasn't part of his duties.

"But he flew missions, anyway, 27 in all, I believe. He used as an excuse an argument that, as intelligence officer, he needed to see the areas firsthand in order properly to correlate reports from pilots which ofttimes conflicted.

"Then, too, he would lug along a movie camera and say he had to go out (on missions) to get reconnaissance pictures.

"I believe the record shows that Joe got a Distinguished Flying Cross and five Air Medals. He deserved every one of them. He volunteered to go on the roughest flights. He got no flight pay for it."

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel of May 7, 1957]

Rest, Joe

You're home now.

Your 7 years' war has ended.

But in this which we mortals call death you stand not alone, as all too frequently you did in that which we call life.

As you now have found confirmed, Joe, death is not the end.

It is but the beginning.

For you, it must be particularly comforting to be so suddenly removed from physical pain, from mental anguish.

And as you look back upon us, Joe, remember that the shrill, piercing voice of a siren is never a popular sound.

It is, instead, eerie, ominous, disturbing and uncomfortable.

It is even more so to him whom it awakens from deep slumber, and from the escapement of reality which slumber brings.

Yet, as you know, even he who chooses to resent that siren's cry will praise it, will be grateful for it, upon learning that it warns him of a raging holocaust whose flaming tentacles reach out, bent toward his destruction.

The arsonist who sets the fire, and the pyromaniac who stands by in perverse glee to witness the destruction, of course, will resent the siren and its sound.

They will despise it, and they will struggle to destroy it, however possible, that their efforts may continue while their victims sleep ther final sleep.

The Communist arsonists have known all too well the blows which you have dealt them, Joe, in your self-imposed role of the siren which has awakened this Nation to the mighty holocaust which they have set against us.

Their fellow-traveling pyromaniacs have long been severely frustrated by your prevention of the flaming engulfment of our way of life, to which they looked in such eager anticipation.

Naturally, therefore, you have been despised by these, who found such reason to struggle to silence your warning cries.

And this morning others who, so self-destructively, have found the wail of the siren more unwelcome than the silence of the flames against which it has warned, suddenly demonstrate tragically belated admission of how suicidal their thinking has been, and of how important your warning which alerted them.

They vow no more to slumber in the presence of flame.

And the rest of us are determined that the echoes of that siren which you first sounded will keep us alert and save this Nation from Kremlin-planned ruin.

So, rest well, Joe.

And pray for us in your new-found light of Him who pleaded:

"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel of May 8, 1957]

The Torch

The Reverend A. M. Grill said it, as a mighty challenge, in his eulogy to the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy Tuesday:

"If the torch dropped by his dying hand is not picked up and held aloft, then God help our beloved land."

To that he added, as a fearsome warning:

"Woe upon those who do not make our country safer for Tierney McCarthy and the millions of other children like her in our country."

This challenge, this warning, we commend to the conscience of every man whose name is being suggested as a possible successor to the seat which Joe McCarthy has vacated only in death.

This challenge, this warning, we commend to the conscience of every Wisconsin citizen, and certainly to every eligible Wisconsin voter.

It is a challenge, it is a warning, which every would-be candidate, every citizen and certainly every eligible voter is conscience-bound to ponder long and well, and then act according to the dictates of his soul.

And, in so doing, each would-be successor, each citizen, each voter, must ask himself this one great, burning, basic question:

Can those who opposed and vilified that now-stilled hand when it held that torch be entrusted with the gigantic task of picking it up?

Yet, as Father Grill properly cautioned, someone must.

If not, as he warned, woe upon those who fail, and God help our beloved land.

[From the Laguna Beach (Calif.) South Coast News of May 7, 1957]

Without Fear

The late Senator Joe McCarthy did not understand that sacred cows could exist in these United States and that because of rank or position they could only with the greatest difficulty be touched or questioned.

So he questioned them, as was his duty, and it made no whit of difference to him if they were Washington brass or common red clay.

He had no fear for those who thought they could fraternize with Reds without having some of the dye rubbed off.

There are those who declared they approved of McCarthy's cause, but disapproved of his methods. But we have yet to hear of one citizen investigated by the McCarthy committee whose character was injured, if it did not deserve to be.

Pundits and commentators glibly referred to him as "controversial." The unthinking failed to understand that black is black and white is white so far as loyalty to one's nation is concerned. There was no gray in Senator Joe's vocabulary.

There was nothing controversial about McCarthy. He was a plain-spoken, fighting American whose methods are the only ones that Communists fear.

The News was for him, first, last, and always.

He is dead, but the spirit and fire America needs if it is to survive was rekindled by Senator Joe.

[From the Syracuse (N. Y.) Spotlight of June 1957]

A Profile of Patriotism

"I shall continue to expose every type of dishonesty or treason that I consider a threat to this Nation." These words were spoken by the most courageous and dedicated American who ever lived—Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. He said and he thought what he did because to him it seemed the only thing to think, to say, and to do.

For this, Joe McCarthy was "tarred and feathered," as Mr. William S. Schlam says, "by gracious ladies of the women voters clubs, genteel Ivy leaguers and by noble princes of the press."

Joe McCarthy became the center of the country's most scandalous fracas. Joe McCarthy's destruction was brought about by his great crime of arousing the conscience of the American people so that they became acutely aware of the dragon of communism that was and still is bent on destroying their way of life.

Here was a man who had vision beyond the times in which he lived. He became a martyr at the early age of 48. In 5 years he did more than most men do in a lifetime.

When did he acquire this great love of God and country? Not overnight. He began as a youth to form habits of right thinking. Other youths of his day, for example the Rosenbergs and Alger Hiss, acquired habits of thinking—habits that were dedicated to the destruction of this great country.

If today's youths follow McCarthy's profile of partiotism we can look forward to great leadership in our country.

I am proud to be a McCarthyite. I dread his fate but hope and pray that if it comes to me I will be able to face it as he did. God bless him.

(Editor's Note.—The above was awarded a first prize in an essay contest held at Most Holy Rosary High School, Syracuse, N. Y. The contest was based on quotations from the lives of great men. The author of the above, Terrance Hoffmann, a freshman, was presented an award by the Syracuse Readers Forum.)

[From the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times of July 2, 1957]

HOMAGE TO JOE MCCARTHY

By praiseworthy coincidence, stirring tributes were paid to the late Senator MCCARTHY of Wisconsin, at meetings in New Bedford and New York City within a period of less than 24 hours last Friday and Saturday.

The American Legion, in convention at New Bedford High School auditorium, passed a resolution calling on the United States Senate to "strike from its record the condemnation of the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY and replace it with a commendation for his courageous fight against the spread of the Communist subversion within this Nation."

More than 300 friends and admirers of the late Senator assembled at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York to present to his widow a scroll as evidence of their gratitude for his tireless crusade against communism.

The citation lauded Senator MCCARTHY as "a valiant American, an ardent patriot, a learned statesman, brilliant and fearless legislator, a courageous warrior who made the supreme sacrifice in zealous defense of his country, civilization and Christianity against the ever-growing menace of the evil and diabolical forces of communism."

There was no connection between these 2 events—some 200 miles apart—but both groups were bound together in common spirit and appreciation for the noble work of Senator MCCARTHY in behalf of his country and countrymen.

The resolution adopted by Massachusetts Legionnaires, and the scroll presented to Mrs. McCarthy, voiced the feelings of millions of Americans. The Senate should pay heed to these expressions of public sentiment.

[From the Sunday Visitor]

FATHER CONROY TALKING—MAY HE REST IN PEACE

Some 4 years ago I attended a dinner meeting in Rochester, N. Y., at which a very dynamic personality was the principal speaker. The occasion was the national meeting of the Catholic Press Association.

I remember the talk so very well and for a number of reasons. One was the personal courage of the speaker. He talked about communism and its threat to this country. Now a lot of speakers do that, of course. But this was not the usual "I'm agin' it and we gotta do something * * *" stuff.

It was a straightforward attack on the enemies of our country and it came from a man who, as a former marine flier had already put his life on the line for his country. Names were named in this talk and all of us present could sense that here was an unusual man, a far cry from the doubletalking politician so commonly heard on occasions such as this.

Anyway, this man went on from there to conduct a furious, absolutely uncompromising attack on the Red enemies of our country both in and out of Government.

Many who had assured him of support in the beginning began dropping away into the night. The man apparently meant business and the fight was approaching a stage where as they say in Ireland, "This is where they separate the men from the boys." Soon this man was practically alone. Fair weather friends and other lesser lights grew afraid to support him any longer.

They "agreed with his objectives but not his methods," as the phrase became known. Finally the fight exploded all over the front pages and crackled from every radio and television set. This was war to the death.

And to the death it was. The man died a few days ago in Washington. It was the end of a long trail of bitter persecution, climaxed by a form of crucifixing known in the marbled Halls of the Senate as censure. By now you know that I am talking about Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY who, as I write this, is being laid to a hero's rest in the typically American small town of Appleton, Wis.

But back to that talk in Rochester. After it was over I made my way (with purpose) to the speaker's rostrum. McCARTHY was chatting with a few hangers-on.

Soon he turned to me, cool and collected. I shook hands with him and congratulated him on his talk. His handshake was warm and strong. There was courage in his eye and sincerity in every line of his face. The voice was well modulated—not the screaming, hysterical noise the papers wanted us to believe it was.

I like to think back on that meeting now—but there is one particular reason why it sticks in my mind. My parting remark to Senator McCARTHY was, "I'll pray for you—you'll need it." He did not comment. The slight smile disappeared, the brow thickened, the eyes fixed right into mine. The hand gripped mine even more strongly. All this for a second. Then the smile came back, the face eased expression, and the eyes again lit up. That was all. I saw him no more, except on television just like the rest of you saw him on television.

I recall all this because I think we have a man who is an eternal example to our youth. We look for men who in these times have the courage of their convictions, men who can't be bought, men who will not compromise even when death is the price. Here was one.

Moreover, as Catholics in public life, we look for men who are proud of their faith and its contribution to the history of this country. Senator McCarthy—"Senator Joe"—takes his place with the greatest of these. May he rest in peace.

[From the Tablet of May 18, 1957]

Death of Patriot Is Flynn Topic—Broadcaster Cites the Partisanship of New York Times

(By John T. Flynn)

(Address recorded on May 9 and delivered over Mutual network of radio stations last Sunday afternoon.)

Last Tuesday I looked in my New York Times for the account of the funeral of Senator Joseph McCarthy. The New York Herald Tribune had it where it belonged—on page 1. But I could not find it in the New York Times until I got back to page 35. I was, I must say, surprised at this treatment of the dead Senator. And I was doubly surprised when I found a story about a new book by the convicted Communist Alger Hiss—its purpose being to prove he was not justly dealt with—right on page 1, while on an inside page there was a report of at least 6½ columns of type quoting Hiss' attempts to clear himself. The senatorial funeral service of Joe McCarthy, mourned by millions of people who loved him, was on page 35 in the Times in a single column. The convicted Alger Hiss' defense of his dark infamy got page 1 and 6½ columns on an inside page.

I mention this because I have never been able to understand why a man who dedicated himself—at dreadful personal risk—to combating treason in his Government, should have been made the target for persecution by so many powerful American leaders, politicians, and publishers. Several weeks ago the President of the United States provided a conspicuous insult to the Senator and his wife when their names were omitted from the invitations to the White House reception of all Members of Congress and their wives. Ninety-five Senators and 435 Congressmen and their wives were all cordially invited. One Senator and his wife were pointedly omitted.

WHAT WAS HIS CRIME?

Now in the sad days following Senator McCarthy's death, I cannot help repeating what I have said many times—what was McCarthy's crime? He assigned himself to the task of fighting the most dangerous, the most insidious collection of enemies of his country—the Communist conspiracy. These men were not the enemies of JOE MCCARTHY. They were the enemies of every American citizen from the President down to the humblest child. President Roosevelt never understood and President Truman and President Eisenhower still do not understand the nature of this dark assault on our country. During Roosevelt's regime a whole flock of young Reds had a free entry into the White House.

And for several years—we have only just learned—Earl Browder, the Communist leader in America, was a frequent guest in the White House. President Roosevelt took a great fancy to Stalin—"good old Joe," as he called him. He said Stalin was not a Communist; he was just an old-fashioned Russian patriot. One can understand this only on the theory that the President at the time did not understand the nature of the Communist conspiracy. When President Roosevelt went to the Yalta Conference, the man at his elbow as adviser was this same Alger Hiss who, after serving a term in jail, now gets a two-thirds-page boost for his book in the New York Times while JOE MCCARTHY is dusted off with a one-column funeral notice on page 35. Slight as this is, it is by no means trivial. It is not trivial in its understanding of the values involved.

It was the advice of Hiss and some others that led this Government to turn over to Stalin practically all of Asia and almost all of Europe. One result is that we still have armies all over the world and the American people struggle under the appalling burden of taxes—for what? To defend this country against Russian communism.

NOTHING MYSTERIOUS ABOUT SENATOR M'CARTHY

There was nothing devious or mysterious about JOE MCCARTHY. Everyone knew just where he stood—what he was for and what he was against. And if he is in his grave today, it is because he undertook the most dangerous job any man in political life can accept. JOE MCCARTHY apparently had yet to learn what those in Washington had already learned—that the most dangerous job in Washington is to take on an attack on the Communist conspiracy. I confess I still do not understand this. There is no point in attacking the known Reds—the Browders and their like. It must be remembered that there are two kinds of Communists—open party Communists and the other underground Communists. It would be very easy to name scores of these underground operators who have now been identified.

Now as to these underground Communists. I think I know something about this type of Red. How does an American, a young teacher or lawyer or writer, become a Red? And why? Well, it is not dangerous, if he operates underground—that is, does not reveal his Red associations. In that case it is difficult to identify him, while he can get all sorts of help—including money and advancement—through the influence of the Communist leaders and their wealthy dupes. And furthermore, if the young Red is in the underground he cannot be identified. He can be recognized and exposed only by investigation and with the necessary powers for summoning and questioning. Yet it is fair to say that the Communist conspiracy in America has done its deadliest work with these masked Red teachers, writers, journalists, artists, diplomats, and even some businessmen who apparently get a kick out of the heady draught of conspiracy. This is no small matter and I suggest that almost all the troubles we are in today—the shocking taxes, the appalling debt, the frightful distortion of our political system, and our entrapment in scores of countries all over the world is due to the Communists—to their underground agents—to that large army of dupes who have carried on the work of Russia and her satellites so successfully in this country.

PLOT TO GET HIS SCALP

I wonder how many persons remember clearly the incident which set the White House on the dead hunt for Senator McCarthy's scalp. The FBI had warned the Army of some 33 cases of Communists or fellow travelers at Fort Monmouth. The FBI reported these cases, but could not act. The cases reported by the FBI were suspended by General Lawton, commanding officer at Fort Monmouth. His action was confirmed by the local loyalty board. When the cases got to the Pentagon every one of them except two were cleared.

It was this outrage which aroused Senator McCarthy. When he questioned a soldier before his committee, the soldier refused to answer on the ground his answer might incriminate him. The lower loyalty board suspended him, but the Pentagon board restored him—and promoted him. It was in the Pentagon that the McCarthy investigation was stopped dead. And it was at this point the Senator himself was subjected to an investigation. It is merely necessary to add that all this was approved by the White House.

Let me remind you that every man who has lifted his sword against the Communist conspiracy—or nearly every man—has been subjected to this same persecution. The first of many to feel its wrath was Congressman Martin Dies, who headed the first full-scale investigation of Reds. He was called a character assassin.

The tragedy of this whole episode can be seen in the case of a brilliant young former State Department official—Lawrence Duggan—who was named as a Communist and who seemingly took refuge in suicide. There was another poor wretch—Abraham Feller—who was identified as a Communist and fled from the disgrace through the window of a high building. There was Alger Hiss who served a term in the penitentiary and who is now getting a warming hand, in his effort to rejuvenate himself from the same papers that persecuted JOE McCARTHY. I could list scores of others who were exposed—some of whom vanished, while others marched boldly out into the open Communist Party. The injury these men inflicted on their country is beyond measure. Take the case of Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States—a subcabinet post—who worked with an underground Red cell in Washington and got for Russia the copper plates with which United States occupation currency was printed, thus enabling the Russians to print United States money to their heart's content. When he was called for investigation, he was stricken with a heart attack.

Well, now JOE McCARTHY is in his grave and his lovely young wife survives him. He is beyond the reach of the calumniators. But those of us who knew him, knew of the strong faith and courage which sustained him from these angry assaults—even from the White House.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Catholic]

It is our guess that Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY has had more prayers offered for the repose of his soul than any other layman in American history.

[From the Norristown (Pa.) Times Herald of May 4, 1957]

DEATH OF A STATESMAN

It is always grimly bemusing to read what the bitter foes of a statesman in life say of him when he is dead.

The once caterwauling chorus, led by President Eisenhower himself, who singled out Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY to bar him from White House social jamborees, now babbles about Mr. McCARTHY as sincere and courageous and energetic.

Of course, he was all that and even more.

Sneered at as too radical, he was a brave and devoted knight in the armor of the right, his voice calling in a wilderness of wolves against treason and indifference and incompetence in Government.

He led the way against such creatures as gave the atom bomb to Russia, if he did nothing else. And he did plenty else.

In this mess of sickening adulation now that his passing is this country's real loss, we have the melancholy satisfaction of recalling that this newspaper never faltered in its approval of JOE McCARTHY. We were with him all the way.

Everybody but a coward loves, or should love, a fighter. Most Americans admire and respect a statesman who has firm convictions and is not afraid to stand up and be counted for them and refuse compromises—as shown by Senator McCARTHY's overwhelming elections in his home State. He was a protagonist who could not oppose subtlety in kind.

The whole story of Communist infiltration has not yet been told. When it is, the memory of JOSEPH McCARTHY will be warmer than ever in the hearts and minds of the American people.

[From the Tulsa Tribune of May 3, 1957]

SENATOR McCARTHY

(By Richard Lloyd Jones)

Flags droop at half mast over the Senate Chamber of our Capitol. A great Senator lies dead. Abused and maligned for his heroic patriotism, JOSEPH R. McCARTHY will loom larger in the perspective of time. He was a crusader in the defense of our Government. He worked himself to death for you and me and for all our common countrymen. He was a victim of subversive persecution and influence.

By the Senate's own committee of appraisal of those who have stood on the United States Senate floor among the five names greatest for courage were Webster, Clay, Calhoun, La Follette and Taft. They were men who stood uncompromisingly for their convictions. And each in turn was persecuted in his time and place, yet they loom as giants today.

La Follette went to the Senate from the same State that sent McCARTHY there. Half a century ago the Senators hazed La Follette. They walked out of the Chamber when he rose to speak. The public press gave him the thunder of silence. Today the very men who traduced him recognize his heroism and do him honor.

So it will be with JOSEPH R. McCARTHY. He ferreted out the agencies of subversion. He named the operators of treason and sabotage. For these patriotic devotions his own colleagues voted censure on his head. Even the President of the United States, a member of McCARTHY's own political party, engaged in a cabal to ruin him.

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY cannot be ruined. When next the United States contemplates those who have stood upon its floor to exhibit matchless courage it will name among them JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY of Wisconsin. No soldier ever battled more bravely for our country than did this cruelly maligned Senator who was hurt unto death in his youthful year of 48.

[From the Fort Worth (Tex.) Southern Conservative of May 1957]

MCCARTHYISM WILL LIVE FOREVER AS A SHINING SYMBOL OF LOYALTY

The American flag was permanently lowered to half mast in the hearts of patriotic Americans when the angel of death tapped JOE MCCARTHY and summoned him home.

And among the rank and file forces of subversion, disloyalty, and fifth-amendment Americanism, there is widespread rejoicing that this country's No. 1 enemy of communism has been cut down in the heyday of life.

Like pygmies dancing on the grave of a giant, they are making wassail and revelling in the joyous hope for an easier and earlier victory of the Soviet conspiracy against the United States.

Understandably, it is humanly impossible for the stunned and sorrowing millions of JOE MCCARTHY's friends and followers throughout the Nation to accept the thesis that, in the mysterious ways of providence, all things happen for the best.

But there is the dawning and consoling realization on their part that, in death, he may secure for his beloved country the measure of safety and security its enemies prevented him from achieving in life.

His strong voice has been silenced forever, but the insistent voice of a guilty conscience will disturb his traducers for a long time to come. And if there is any shred of honest concern for the security of the Republic an the part of Lilliputian leaders who professed sympathy with his objectives while denouncing his "methods," the time is now here for them to prove their point and thereby reestablish their right to look loyal Americans in the eye once again. If they will develop a better "method" and take up the relentless fight which cost MCCARTHY his life, partial atonement will have been made.

Every charge he brought against those he knew to be engaging in un-American activities has been substantiated by the unfolding events of time.

While many involved persons' reputations may have suffered by his disclosures, it was because of their own disloyal acts against the internal security of the United States and not because MCCARTHY lifted the curtain which exposed their treasonable behavior to public view.

In not one single case was an innocent person accused by him and the written record in Washington, set in cold and impartial type, will—unless mysteriously removed from the public archives—bear eternal and incontrovertible witness to this fact.

Some of his detractors in the Senate have already publicly apologized for their injustice and inhumanity to this great American and have expressed regret for their shameful part in the shabby and despicable frameup against him—a frameup engineered and financed by a shrivelled-souled renegade whose soiled record of collusion with subversive cliques and projects would bring a blush of shame to the cheeks of a Digger Indian.

Some of those he accused of disloyal action have been whitewashed and even promoted to higher station but the black stain of their guilt remains unerased and if there is any validity to the belief that truth will prevail in the end, their part in protecting proved traitors will yet be brought to light.

Regardless of the medical term for the disease which took him away, Joe McCarthy was slowly tortured to death by the pimps of the Kremlin who operate unremittingly in every capital of the world, from Moscow to Washington, and whose concentrated hatred and fury were centered on him.

His death was hastened by the human hyenas in the Truman and Eisenhower administrations who incessantly snarled at his heels and who were able to embarrass him but who could never quite humble him, deflect him from his course, or make him afraid.

It was aided and abetted by calculated social snubs administered to him by little men in high posts officially possessed of the power to humiliate him and wound his pride but who were personally devoid of those qualities which would restrain persons of innate culture, good breeding, and exalted stature from converting a social function into a weapon for attacking a political foe.

It was accelerated by the cowardly jackals of that craven portion of the American press which defers to heavy advertising accounts, and who obeyed orders to smear and slander him and to slant every written line involving his magnificent fight to break communism's lethal hold on the institutions of the country he loved and served.

Even in death, they reverted instinctively to the smear pot and spattered their editorials with venomous reference to his "methods," to his "censure" by pro-Reds in the Senate, and to his "rise and fall" in popularity, deliberately flaunting the now obvious fact that in the hearts and minds of unintimidated and worthwhile Americans, he never toppled but held his enduring place in their respect, confidence, and affection until fate rang down the curtain on his glorious but tragically brief career.

In an age when the twin specters of international conspiracy and domestic collaboration stalk the councils of the mighty, when known traitors have been permitted to serve as American Presidential aides in time of war and when a spirit of unswerving national allegiance is brushed off as the maudlin sentiment of weaklings and fools, it was inevitable, perhaps, that JOE McCARTHY should walk alone and stand as a solitary sentinel against the forces of darkness sworn to destroy American defense.

But when his unslanted record is set down on the pages of history and stripped of the smear and slander which trailed him to the grave, "McCarthyism" will emerge as the synonym for patriotic service and the radiant symbol of undivided loyalty to country which, in the final analysis, is the supreme test of fitness for citizenship in this Christian Republic and the ultimate factor which determines a man's moral right to the protection of the American flag.

[From the Houston Chronicle of May 5, 1957]

McCARTHY DESERVED BETTER TREATMENT FROM COUNTRY

(By Bascom N. Timmons)

It was a curious result that in the spin of the wheel of history, Robert M. La Follette was chosen along with Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Robert A. Taft as the 5 outstanding Senators in American history just 24 hours before JOSEPH McCARTHY died. La Follette and McCARTHY, both Senators from Wisconsin, were the two most controversial Senators in that body in this century.

As a political writer in Wisconsin and in Washington, this writer knew Robert M. La Follette intimately for many years. My acquaintance with McCARTHY was for a number of years, though fewer than with La Follette. To me the choice of La Follette was astounding, as I think it was to most people who remember back to World War I.

The greatest charge against La Follette was that he was disloyal to his country in an hour of great peril. The great charge against McCARTHY was that he "smeared" individuals. La Follette voted against declaration of war on the Central Powers. But others did that. It was concurrent actions that brought down the wrath of his countrymen on him. Others of those who voted against war supported it once we were it. La Follette absented himself from the Senate, made speeches such as the one in St. Paul, Minn., denouncing the motives of this Government and continued to question the sincerity of the Government when American troops were dying on the battlefield.

CALLED A TRAITOR

Although La Follette was a Republican, the Wisconsin Republican State Central Committee adopted a resolution censuring him for "treasonable and seditious utterances." The Wisconsin State Council of Defense and 71 county councils called on him to resign and on the Senate to expel him if he did not. Both houses of the Wisconsin Legislature condemned him for speeches tending to incite sedition. He was burned in effigy in a half hundred Wisconsin cities and towns.

In May 1917, the feeling against La Follette was at its height. Forty years later the Senate orders him enshrined.

No one ever accused JOE McCARTHY of giving aid and comfort to the enemy. His worst crime was that he was an aggressive American. He came to understand Communist infiltration in this country better than any other man and did more than any other man to dredge it out. He was unduly harsh in some of his judgments. He was accused of going off the track quite often. Even Thomas J. Walsh, presiding over the Teapot Dome inquiry, went off the track sometimes before he pushed it to a conclusion. Like Walsh, McCARTHY was an able, resourceful, and determined battler.

In the miasma of irreconcilable contradictions it is difficult to tell how many Commies imbedded in the woodwork of Government were pried from their hiding places. He did force something of a house cleaning. There is no doubt that but for the steam his investigation generated Congress would never have passed the law which labeled the Communist Party in the United States a criminal conspiracy.

It probably will be difficult for the historian of the future to understand why the Senate and the Eisenhower administration ever bought the idea which had been advanced in the diatribes of Flanders, of Vermont, representing the leftwing fringe of Republicanism, and the obtuse and years-weary Lehman, of New York, the Democratic prototype of Flanders, to censure McCARTHY, which furnished a spectacle more of lynch law than orderly parliamentary proceedings.

SANG BY EAR

The higher echelon of the Eisenhower administration threw aside its sheet music and sang by ear its hymn of hate of McCARTHY. Perhaps the thing that hurt McCARTHY most was the fact that the White House announced that it had invited every other Senator and Representative to last winter's White House social affairs except McCARTHY. But McCARTHY was already a sick man when that occurred and it seemed to him the White House was making war on his wife because of its dislike for him.

Perhaps the stirring of the venomous hate against him is too recent an event for a kindly reception to words spoken in praise of his efforts. But this can be said: Of course, not everyone who hated McCarthy was a Communist, but every Communist hated McCarthy. He was the arch enemy of communism.

Joe McCarthy may or may not come to be an American Dreyfus. The country may or may not build monuments to him.

But Joe McCarthy deserved better of his country than it has lately treated him. "McCarthyism" may come to mean the exact opposite to what his enemies would have it mean.

[From the Colorado Springs Gazette]

Joseph R. McCarthy

Joseph R. McCarthy, Senator from Wisconsin, is dead. He passed from the scene as one of the most controversial figures in American history on the evening of May 2, 1957, following a bout with hepatitis. He was 48.

We are too close to the Senator to obtain a totally objective view. In another hundred years or so, historians will have a better opportunity to evaluate his works. Unquestionably, however, he was loved and hated, trusted and feared as few men in their time ever are.

We can be counted among those who loved him. We did not fear him. Nor did we trust him entirely. Those who hold public office come under a cloak of suspicion from the very beginning, so far as we are concerned.

Yet, we can say this: In the area where he was justly famous, namely, in the business of exposing Communists and awakening the American public to the dangers in our very midst, there we trusted him. There he earned his spurs, and were we not so far gone in degeneracy and dependency on government, he would have won immortality in every quarter of the globe beyond a reasonable doubt.

That so many voices were raised against him, is the proof of the decline of the American Republic. No man, in so short a time, has ever been so viciously and so continuously smeared. Not that he was necessarily above reproach in all that he did.

But, it can be said, and the record will bear us out, that the calumnous and libelous things which caused a wide public reaction against him, were for the most part twistings of truth, and outright lies.

For example, it was often claimed that he injured those he sought to question. The claim is false. The persons under his investigation had already harmed themselves irreparably by Red-tinted connections and questionable conduct. And as for his methods in his famous Un-American Activities Committee, no man was ever more gentle and considerate, albeit always determined and persevering. If this is still in doubt, we challenge the doubter to check the record.

A man is not only known by the company he keeps but by the enemies he makes. And while it has often been said that McCarthy attacked others on the basis of association, it is also true that his detractors attacked many soundly American patriots, by charging them with McCarthyism and thus performing the act of attributing guilt by association to those who loved their country. And if McCarthy was known for his associates, he was also known in every quarter as a man hated by every Communist on either side of either ocean. Here was one man on which the turns and twisting of the Communist line could unite. The year in which the United States Senate censured McCarthy was the same year in which the official Communist program had as one of its major objectives the getting of McCarthy.

In the McCarthy lexicon there were no neutrals. You were either against communism or in some way you were for communism. There was never a question as to where McCarthy stood. He opposed communism. He exposed Communists. He ripped into the sanctified Halls of Congress, trodding on toes, kicking up a fuss, whenever he felt that someone in a high position was protecting a person whose loyalty could be questioned. The guilty and the confused and fearful joined ranks against him.

McCarthy didn't fall, although the plotting of the political manipulators saw to it that he didn't get the credit for what he did. Others picked up the battle and carried it forward to such an extent that today there is a widespread movement against communism in this country both within and without the Government. McCarthy caused that movement to jell.

He also saw to it that the public came to realize that there were many things going on in the Government behind closed doors which should, by all the precepts of representative government, have been made public information. Again, others picked up the pieces and acted on the evidence produced by McCarthy.

Whatever anyone can say of McCarthy's judgment, no one can ever impugn either his loyalty to America, nor his courage.

Now he is gone. America has lost one of her truly great men.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

THE SENATOR IS DEAD

By tragic coincidence, only several hours after the editorial on controversy above was written, one of the most controversial figures of this decade, Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY died.

The Wisconsin Senator's death should be the occasion of thoughtful meditation for the Nation. His health gradually gave way under the frightening burden and almost unbearable pressure of responsibility placed on the shoulders of a United States Senator who fearlessly undertook his duties of office. Few political figures on the national scene today care to be controversial. As a consequence, they contribute little or nothing to the future of this Nation. History shows that all statesmen were controversial in their day. Only politicians are noncontroversial. Many Senators are mere politicians swayed by fads popular at the moment. Their guiding principle is one of political expediency. They will change their course in midstream should an ill wind brush against their political fortunes. They vote with an eye on the next election. Senator McCARTHY can never be accused of such a perversion of high office.

Senator McCARTHY's death reemphasizes what thinking people in America have known for some time: Any prominent figure who dares to be courageous and fearless in fighting communism will be crucified and crushed. In this respect Senator McCARTHY and Representative Martin Dies are classic examples. Few men have been crucified as viciously as was Senator McCARTHY.

There will be multitudes of hypocrites who will come forward after Senator McCARTHY's death with platitudinous praise. We are concerned here not with the late Senator's voting record, but with his stand on atheistic communism and his approach to this sinister menace in our midst. On this we believe he was dead right. This we have consistently held even when it was unpopular to take such a stand. We have followed his activities at close range and have had many personal conferences with him. We feel qualified to evaluate his program of anticommunism. We do not agree with those who say "his intention was right, but his methods were wrong." We have carefully studied his methods over the past years and have not found them to be wrong; at times he may have erred in judgment but who dares to cast the first stone? The greatest error in our age is silence and in that Senator McCARTHY never erred.

He did make mistakes as all men do, but these were rather tactical errors than mistakes of principle. Senator McCARTHY was always sincere in his objectives. As a former marine he fought tenaciously and bravely for that objective—to weed Communist-inspired-and-led termites out of the framework of American Government.

History may well prove that the silencing of Senator McCarthy by powerful forces in and out of Government following the Senate-Army hearings in 1954 to be the turning point of victory in the United States for the subversive menace of world communism. It is our conviction that he was throttled because he had reached "pay dirt," at the top. His investigations brought him to the front doorsteps of men of high rank in the United States.

The world, the Nation, and particularly the State of Wisconsin, mourn the death of the courageous Senator. It will be many years before Wisconsin or any other State sends to Washington a statesman with Senator McCarthy's courage, conviction, and ability. We cherished him as a friend in life; we grieve at his death. Few have served their country more totally, unselfishly, and effectively. His death is a severe loss to the Nation—a loss greater than most now realize. Long after his worst opponents—who frequently in their criticism didn't even bother to study the record—have passed into oblivion, Senator McCarthy's memory and contribution to the Nation and the world will remain. Few are entitled more rightly to the title that is his of being a stanch, loyal Christian American statesman. Perhaps his utter fearless action was sufficient to stop the advance of communism in the land he loved; perhaps his voice was choked out too soon. Perhaps his wife and associate should be a candidate for the seat he leaves vacant.

A man of controversy—yes—but also a man of history—that was Senator McCarthy. May his soul rest in peace.

[From the Chatham Courier of May 9, 1957]

A Great Warrior Has Fallen

A great American passed away last week when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy died in Washington where he had carried on his battle against communism for so long.

Senator McCarthy, by his very nature, was a controversial figure. He fought for what he believed was right which, in his judgment, meant the saving of America from infiltration, no matter whether in Government or industry, by those who would destroy our country.

No man can deny that when he commenced his crusade, the ugly and insidious followers of the Kremlin were slowly but surely eating their way into the very heart of America. Into many of the branches of Government, they were to be found. Into important and sensitive industrial plants, they had found their way. Into other fields, they had crept like termites, waiting only for the collapse of the structure. Theirs was to do the bidding of a foreign power whose admitted enemy was the United States of America.

When Senator McCarthy commenced his exposure, they and their followers struck back by the only means they know, by attempting to destroy by calumny or evil suggestion him who would expose them.

Many good people believed their tales and saw in Senator McCarthy one who would pull down the very foundations of the Constitution and set himself up as a dictator or who, by his words and acts, would destroy the names and character of those whom he suspected of treasonable actions.

So far did this propaganda reach that the Senator from Wisconsin was condemned for his actions by the Senate of the United States. Yet there were millions of people who stood beside him, and saw the frailties of the man but recognized that his cause was a holy one and that for it, he must suffer.

This has been the lot of all in America who fought communism in the Halls of Congress . . . Martin Dies of Texas, Hamilton Fish of New York, Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin and today, Senator James Eastland of Mississippi. All of these men have felt the whiplash of the Communists and each has had his character and reputation smeared by them and their followers. Such is the way of the Communists and such it will continue to be against those who hold their philosophy and their methods of operation as opposed to Almighty God and the blessings of a free America.

Recently, the President of the United States dispatched the 6th Fleet into waters where Communist infiltration was likely and with apparent successful results.

Here, in this country, Joseph McCarthy carried on a warfare against those who would strike us from within. This form of destruction is much more insidious, much more destructive than outward action. It eats away and destroys the whole framework, and unless the bright light of publicity is cast upon it, it may, in the end, win its ultimate objective.

Time, we predict, will elevate Senator McCarthy to the great illustrious of the Senate of the United States, and the good works and deeds he did will long remain after many of his traducers have gone to their final rest and their opinions forgotten.

He fought the good fight. He has finished the course and he kept the faith.

[From the New York Catholic News]

Senator McCarthy is dead, and the Communists and fellow travelers are vehement in their denunciations of him. Their glee over his death is obvious. In the United States there is a widespread realization that communism has lost its most effective foe. Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire said: "His courage and sincerity in battling against all subversive elements were great contributions to the protection of our American way of life. History will record him as one of our outstanding American patriots."

Dead at the age of 48, Senator McCarthy contributed an important chapter to the history of the Nation at a critical time. To say that he made mistakes is to say what we can say of nearly any man in public life except those who do nothing. He made the United States conscious of the Communist infiltration at a time when many in high places were ignoring it and denying it existed. It is unfortunate that Canada and England did not have a Joe McCarthy to shock them out of their complacency on communism. The prayers of millions will be offered for the eternal repose of this courageous foe of his country's foes.

[From the Camden (N. J.) Star Herald]

Senator McCarthy is dead. A public figure who skyrocketed to fame and misfortune in less than a decade of arduous labor that made him perhaps the most controverted personality in the leading capitals of the world.

Loved and admired by many; hated by others, Senator McCarthy relentlessly pursued communism, attacking the Soviet bear in its lair and ruthlessly exposing every form of the greatest sham ever foisted on men from parlor pinks to implacable Stalines, Chou-en-lais and Tito.

Censured by our august senatorial body, who were the frequent targets of his violent denunciations of all things communistic; branded as a witch hunter, before and after death, by the public press of many countries, and dying at an early age of interminable conflict with the forces of evil assembled to destroy a modern David in his death struggle with Goliath—only the impartial verdict of history will decide the true merits of Senator McCarthy to the immortal remembrance of our Nation.

One truth is abundantly clear in the passing of Senator McCarthy from the American scene: That whereas only an insignificant few hundreds grasped the actual meaning of communism as the deadliest foe of all religion and all freedom then, now millions at home and abroad know and accept this Frankenstein monster for what it really is and no one is deceived, except the Communist leaders wherever they are and the unhappy enslaved peoples who are the pawns in the desperately mad bid for one Red world.

In this sense, which is perfectly orthodox, Senator McCarthy is the watchman of the citadel, who risked his name, his political future, his health, and even his life to save the American Ship of State and the peace and the world from that communism that believes neither in the divinity of God nor in the humanity of man.

[From the Ashland (Ky.) Daily Independent of May 3, 1957]

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Death came suddenly yesterday to Senator Joe McCarthy, of Wisconsin, at the age of 48. For many months he had been in poor health and unable to play the vigorous part in national affairs which had made him both one of the most admired and most intensely hated men in American public life.

Whatever may have been his faults, his loyalty to the United States of America and his determination to fight the Communist conspiracy which would overthrow our form of government were unquestionable.

If ever the Communist apparatus, aided by its host of fellow travelers, pinkos, and anti-anti-Communists, was successful in getting its man, it certainly earned its Stalinist medals destroying Senator McCarthy. By every trick of the publicist's art, it succeeded well in creating a byword and a term of opprobrium, "McCarthyism." Too many people accepted it as such without thought or analysis. To its victim, it brought ultimate death.

What Joe McCarthy really stood for was the defense of his country against Communist infiltration and destruction by the method he knew best, direct and fearless action.

We met Joe McCarthy first in the Marine barracks at Quantico, Va., in the late summer of 1942. He was there to defend his country then. And that was the goal of his life until the end. It is our conviction that the slow judgment of history will fully vindicate this estimate of the man.

[From the Albany (N. Y.) Evangelist]

Only the most callow and unconcerned with the preservation of Christian democracy can fail to be saddened and feel a sense of loss in the death of the late Senator from Wisconsin, the Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy. His passing removed from the national scene a sincere, stalwart warrior who recklessly and relentlessly spent himself in warring against the wiles and intrigues of atheistic communism.

He was no ordinary political crusader. The evil against which he devoted his every talent and effort was not commonplace. It thrived on confusion, compromise, and half measures. It could only be challenged by a clearsighted understanding of its essential immorality and a fearless and forthright exposé of its propagators and the alarming number of sycophants, liberals, and starry-eyed optimists who were willing to temporize with it and to hope for the best from it, content to believe that it was kindred in some way to the basic principles of democracy. Because this was the popular view and because the ruthless forces of atheistic communism were strongly entrenched, extraordinary courage was demanded of him who would stand almost alone among his peers in his insistence that communism is an unmixed evil that could not be tolerated.

Senator McCarthy well knew the tactics of the enemy and appreciated the hazards that such combat held for him. Prestige, career, even bodily health, he willingly spent to expose the venom that threatened the lifestream of the Nation.

Because of the late Senator from Wisconsin, millions throughout the Nation today have a better appreciation of the viciousness of communism and the titanic battle that must be fought unceasingly to stem its tide. May the palm of victory be his eternal adornment.

[From the Aiken (S. C.) Standard-Review of May 6, 1957]

SENATOR McCARTHY

A rugged individualist has departed from the American scene of statesmanship with the untimely death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, perhaps the most controversial figure of the era in political circles.

There are those who sided with the fearless Senator, those who opposed him, and a third group who watched his every move with appreciation of expected—and were never disappointed—amusement in his showmanship manner as he strode boldly into conflict with the enemy—especially where suspected communism was to be ferreted out and exposed.

The liberals, the pinks, the admitted Communists feared and hated the gentleman from Wisconsin, who zealously, without partisanship or regard as where the chips fell, wielded the ax which dealt a mortal blow to subversive moves by people in this Nation of the disloyal group.

Say what you will, think how you please, but with Senator McCarthy's appearance and sojourn in the Senate, the American people had a champion to defend them from all acts of disloyalty; and to others, whose loyalty to this Nation was questionable, a foe was he—dreaded, hated, and feared.

Not too many men of Senator McCarthy's caliber pass through the Halls of Congress and leave behind a record such as his. Perhaps they are too few.

The people of America will miss Mr. McCarthy and his rugged, never-ending, deeply conscientious struggle against communism, except those who had a right to fear his attack and those who could not stand unflinchingly under the penetrating light of his questioning.

He served his country well.

[From the Los Angeles Herald Express]

DEATH OF SENATOR McCARTHY

(By William Randolph Hearst)

The passing of Senator Joseph McCarthy, critically ill only a matter of days, comes as a shock to the Nation and his millions of followers.

Veteran of World War II, he went to the forefront and became a bitter, relentless fighter against communism, centering his attack upon the Communists who were infiltrating Government official life.

Because of this he became a controversial figure berated by Communists, leftists, and many liberal groups.

Nevertheless, he continued his unbending struggle to root out homegrown communism and Communist fronts wherever he could find them.

Many will remember him as a beacon of warning at a period in our history when tolerance of Communists and their followers in many high places in public life posed a grave threat to our national security.

Senator McCarthy has passed from among us, but he will not be forgotten, and there will be others who will follow in his footsteps to continue as leaders in what seems to be a never-ending struggle to preserve our great Nation from dangerous subversive invasion.

[From the Cincinnati Enquirer of May 4, 1957]

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was a man of many facets, and people saw in him many different things. To some, he was a cynical, ruthless destroyer of reputations, interested only in the furtherance of his own political welfare. To many, many others he was a man of singular courage and determination, willing to sacrifice himself in a crusade against the machinations of the Communist conspiracy.

History will judge wherein his greatness lay—as a patriot, or as a politician.

Let it be recorded now, though, that he was no ordinary man. He was a battler, and one with extraordinary talent. He didn't hesitate even at "taking on the champ," which is what it amounted to when he forced an issue with the Eisenhower administration at the peak of the President's popularity.

As the observers have noted, the Wisconsin Senator's meteoric career swept almost into obscurity after that—after, with the administration's weight thrown against him, he was censured by the Senate. It would be assuming too much, however, to say that his political life was done. McCARTHY was a 2-to-1 choice for reelection to the Senate from Wisconsin next year, and in view of his remarkable political vitality, he may again have become a power to deal with in the Republican Party. His death was a shock to friend and foe alike. That much we can say, and leave the rest to speculation.

The Enquirer was a defender of Senator McCARTHY, and we were wont to remind critics of his "methods" that the man was fighting an artfully entrenched and fiendishly clever opposition. "McCarthyism" was coined as a smear word, and it was taken to mean a wholly vicious and unprincipled attack upon people innocent of all wrongdoing, or a modern version of witch hunting.

Yet there were no witches in Salem, and there were Communists in Washington. We hope that historians will be mindful of that when they pass judgment on JOE McCARTHY. We hope they will not lose the thread of proof that Communists did infiltrate our Government, did connive to deprive this Nation of allies, and did steal vital defense secrets. "McCarthyism" found a spearhead in JOE McCARTHY, but in main essence it was the wrath of a people betrayed. We can only hope that the final curtain for Senator McCARTHY does not usher in another era of undue softness on communism in America.

[From the Fort Lauderdale Daily News of May 4, 1957]

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, a man admired and respected by many and hated and reviled by as many more, is dead.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

We don't know how the God who Senator McCarthy worshiped will judge him, but we have always been firmly convinced that he did what he honestly felt had to be done, knowing full well that in carrying out the task he had set for himself he might be the major victim.

He was no angel, nor did he use the tactics of angels in fighting what he believed to be the great menace of our times. He was one of those who used fire to fight fire.

He was "a man of strong convictions," in the view of Senator McClellan, of Arkansas, with whom he worked on many investigations. In the opinion of Senator Bridges, of New Hampshire, he "literally gave his life to preserve freedom for all Americans."

There is little doubt about Senator McCarthy's patriotic zeal. For in sharp contrast to many of his enemies who successfully avoided military service, he volunteered when he could have stayed home.

When he returned from war, he realized his country was just beginning its greatest fight, and he set for himself the task of awakening an otherwise sleeping nation.

In the columns of Pravda, he is reviled as an arrant reactionary who sowed an atmosphere of fear and anti-Communist hysteria throughout the United States.

Senator McCarthy did succeed in his mission. He awakened the American people to the fearsome peril posed by international communism. He focused a merciless light on the huge Federal bureaucracy which has proved a comfortable hiding place for Communists.

But there never was any hysteria except in the columns of the liberal press or on the lips of the apologists for communism and its helpers. During all the years when Senator McCarthy reportedly was conducting a "witch hunt"—when liberals were supposed to be silenced by fear—there were tens of millions of words written or uttered by his very victims.

Yes; there was hysteria on their part; for they feared the results of any investigation into the Communists' past infiltration of our Government. Directly or indirectly, Senator McCarthy was responsible for the jailing of a large number of enemies of our Nation.

Because of his fight, he was subjected to the greatest concentrated campaign of abuse ever directed at anyone on the American political scene.

This abuse, spearheaded by the Communists and their liberal dupes, never was allowed to slacken. Senator McCarthy knew all along what was in store for him—he knew the nature of the enemy—but he never wavered.

He succeeded in his immediate goal, but he paid the ultimate price.

His death is a loss to the Nation he loved and served. It is a loss which will be felt keenly by many of our citizens who shared Senator JOE MCCARTHY's belief that the internationalist Communist conspiracy could not be fought with kid gloves under Marquis of Queensberry rules.

Senator MCCARTHY didn't fight like a gentleman because he wasn't fighting gentlemen and none knew this better than he.

[From the Houston Chronicle of May 4, 1957]

HISTORY WILL BE MORE INTERESTED IN MCCARTHY'S AIMS THAN METHODS

Few figures in American history have made such an impact as Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin, during the 10 years he was in the United States Senate. The vital part of his career was concentrated into 4 years, between 1950 and 1954. So strong a character was MCCARTHY that he aroused violent feelings, for and against him. Only the objectivity of history can give MCCARTHY his proper place in this era. It is probable that historians, remote from the vitriolic smears made on MCCARTHY by the liberal propaganda brigade, will credit him with being a catalytic force in alerting Americans to the subversion of their Government.

MCCARTHY's enemies succeeded in making him relatively ineffective after the famous Army-McCarthy hearings and condemnation by his Senate colleagues. But they have not succeeded in erasing from the minds of Americans the stimulation of thoughtfulness which MCCARTHY evoked.

MCCARTHY accused a small clique in the Federal Government, chiefly in the State Department, of causing 600 million Chinese to be subjugated by the Communists. The targets of MCCARTHY's attack blamed it all on Chiang Kai-shek, while some of their defenders admitted their blunders but claimed the errors were made through bad judgment. MCCARTHY convinced millions of Americans there was more than stupidity involved in the loss of China to the Communists.

When MCCARTHY, after the famous speech at Wheeling, W. Va., centered his fire on the State Department and began naming names, the uproar started. It was then that the liberals set out to destroy him, as they have tried to destroy other vigorous anti-Communists, like Martin Dies. The liberals have never found anything to like or praise in any anti-Communist.

Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, said of McCarthy, "He literally gave his life to preserve freedom for all Americans." Vice President Nixon said, "Years will pass before the results of his work can be evaluated objectively, but his friends and many of his critics will not question his devotion to what he considered to be the best interests of his country. * * *" Senator John McClellan, of Arkansas, who often clashed with McCarthy on the investigating committee, said, "I found him to be a man of strong convictions and on occasions when I may have disagreed with him I am happy to say there were never any personalities involved."

Taken together, the statements give a good evaluation of McCarthy. His sincerity was not questioned. McCarthy's detractors used the clever approach. "We like his objectives, but not his methods." History probably will be more concerned with his objectives and what they accomplish, than with his methods.

[From the Illinois State Journal of May 4, 1957]

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy: Controversial and Courageous

When time's healing balm wipes away all the ill feelings, all the stark emotionalism, all the fanaticism that swirl around the political career of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, he may gain recognition as one of the truly great Senators of the 20th century. But any assessment will have to come from objective historians, not from writers of our day who all seem to be subjective.

At any rate, Senator McCarthy was undoubtedly the most controversial political figure of this half century. His foes accused him of witch-hunting and of using guilt by association tactics to malign honorable people. His admirers were at the opposite pole in their attitude. They said he was justified in using extreme methods in exposing the machinations of communism and its danger to our country.

Whether or not his tactics were ethical or justified, we believe McCarthy did a great service for his country in dramatizing the evil of communism. The American people went through the twenties, the thirties, and a large part of the forties without being aware of the cancerous growth of communism that was eating at the vitals of American freedoms.

Sir Winston Churchill first called attention to the dangers of the era in an historic speech at Fulton, Mo. He bluntly pointed out that Stalin had doublecrossed his allies. Then came the exposure of the atom spies, the Rosenbergs, and the shocking realization that Russia had the secret of the atom bomb. Next followed the Hiss case.

But not until McCARTHY launched his campaign against communism did the American people wake up. The general attitude prior to that time was that all those headlines from Washington were politics. The Republicans were investigating the Democrats. President Harry Truman's attitude was typical of many: The Hiss case was a "red herring."

McCARTHY, in reality, exposed the laxity of Government officials toward communism, rather than Communists themselves. But in doing this he stirred up a great enmity, for when a high Government official's reputation is at stake he doesn't take it sitting down, especially if he is still in office.

McCARTHY, in final analysis, was a prosecutor of the people's cause. He may have been wrong in some of his charges, but prosecutors for the people rarely prove all they allege. The inductive method of prosecution is common in our courts, but when McCARTHY used it he stirred up the worst political storm of the century.

Was he right or wrong? History will tell.

Remarks by Senator Hruska

Of Nebraska

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, in the National Review of May 18, 1957, there appeared an article, written by William S. Schlamm, and a comment by Sam Jones, on the subject of the late Senator McCARTHY, of Wisconsin.

I ask unanimous consent that both articles be printed in the Record.

ACROSS McCARTHY'S GRAVE

(By William S. Schlamm)

There was no roof from which to jump and so there were no editorials bewailing an innocent man's annihilation by the hound dogs of malice. There was only a young man of 48, a young mountain of a man, but fatigued to the bone, fatigued and harassed and greatly astonished. It seems that JOE McCARTHY never fully understood what had happened to him. When a stupid virus struck, a tired, young body gave up. At the wake, Mr. Acheson said "de mortuis nil nisi bonum," which is a certified gentleman's and Harvard overseer's way of saying that the deceased was a ———.

But the deceased was a good man, and I have come here to bear this witness. I knew him, not too well, but well enough to testify. And about the hound dogs that kept snapping at him until he fell prostrate, I know everything there is to know. So here I am to deposit testimony, for a certain tomorrow of trial on an epoch of insane guile, an epoch in which JOE McCARTHY was tarred and feathered by genteel Ivy Leaguers, by gracious ladies of Women Voters Clubs and by noble princes of the press.

JOE McCARTHY became the center of the century's most scandalous fracas because he had the strength and the defects of organic innocence. When his day of destiny came, he looked around, innocently, saw the gargoyles of antichrist staring and sneering at him from everywhere, and innocently he reached out to crush them. Now others had seen the gargoyles before him, and some had even visibly shuddered. But, at midcentury, everyone who spoke or wrote or emoted before the public had gone through the postgraduate school of relativism (which is the insolent denial of the free will that chooses between right and wrong). And so the speakers and the writers and the emoters, who among them are the true rulers of our society, kept constantly changing the subject. To them, the sneering gargoyles were artifacts, morally neutral, esthetically interesting, intellectually provocative and, of course, not really serious. But JOE MCCARTHY, once he had caught sight of them, could never again speak of anything else. The subject had taken possession of the speaker. For the subject was deadly serious. And so was the speaker.

JOE MCCARTHY must have had many defects, and I know some of them, but I will admit none—not because he is dead (Mr. Acheson speaks, in Latin as well as in English, sheer cant), but because he was hated and hunted for his virtues. He was hated, above all, for his impregnable innocence. What the learned frauds could not stand about MCCARTHY was his certainty: he knew what he knew, he believed what he believed, and there were no two ways about it. But the learned ass balks with invincible stubbornness when there are no two ways on which to move at the same time. And then, JOE MCCARTHY just could not be lukewarm. This in the catechism of modernity, is the gravest of all mortal sins—not to be lukewarm. Let your word be never yea, yea and nay, nay. The hot and the cold will be spewed out of the establishment's mouth, but the lukewarm shall be forever accepted. For the establishment lives according to this blasphemous perversion of the Apocalypse.

JOE MCCARTHY could not have conformed with it if his life had depended on it. (It did.) And, as I was not born in this country, I might be clearly seeing something that native Americans so easily forget: that there is no greater American virtue, in fact, no other, than the American's natural revulsion against cynicism. Which is why progressive education proves so much more pernicious in America than anywhere else: it corrodes the native resistance to cynicism and so deprives the American of his one formative trait. JOE MCCARTHY, who would have politely put up with, but secretly yawned over such an abstraction, was its ideal test case and evidence. He, so often and so stupidly accused of cynical crudeness by the liberal falsificators, was physically incapable of a cynical act. He said and he thought and he did what he said and thought and did for the one unheard-of reason only; to him, it seemed the thing to say and to think and to do. All his defeats and all his blunders were due to the fact that he was incapable of the clever maneuver, of the professional's prudent opportunism. He had seen the truth—and it killed him.

When MCCARTHY proceeded to uncover the immense Communist infiltration of free government and society, this was his activating premise: that man is responsible for the choices he has made in an exercise of his free will; and that, until a man is proven an irresponsible fool, he must be presumed to have made his choices in earnest. McCARTHY's rationale was invariably the same: certain people are dedicated to certain ideas—ergo, whatever they do in positions they have obtained must have been determined by, and serve, these ideas. It is the obscene joke of the age that this ultimate compliment to the supremacy of the mind has been taken by the liberal intelligentsia as the supreme affront against the intellect, a sordid assault of know-nothingism on reason.

The huge intellectual scandal around McCARTHY has always been the frightening frivolousness of his opposition which holds that man's choices signify nothing; that on his walks through the valley of decisions man picks and then discards commitments the same way Peter Pan picks and discards daisies. That Caliban, McCARTHY, insisted that man must be taken seriously. The intelligentsia tarred and feathered him, because it insists that man is intellectually an eternal child and morally a vegetable. In short, at the heart of what McCARTHY said and did was the very essence of western civilization; while his postgraduate opposition lost its mind on a savage binge of irrelevancy.

There he came, from the heartland of America, a tenacious and quite ordinary politician; and in a sudden and lasting moment of recognition, he saw the central truth of his age; that his country, his faith, his civilization was at war with communism, war pure and simple. "This war will not end except by either victory or death for this civilization," he said again and again. And it was this hot sense of urgency which distinguished him from all jovial practitioners of the political trade. It is this hot sense of urgency which he, for a short moment of truth, forced upon his country. But the automobiles were much too sleek, prosperity much too tepid, Eisenhower much to nice, TV much too amusing; and so the country grew tired of the truth and of the man who kept shouting it, redundantly and, at the end, hoarsely. The country went to sleep again. And the man lay down and died.

Then they gave him a funeral in the same Senate Chamber in which the world's most exclusive club had gathered, only 2 years before, to ostracize the young Member who had the temerity to see and to say the truth. The mourning Senators looked, almost all of them, as if they all had drafted Mr. Eisenhower's message of condolence—ill at ease, confused, and rather exasperating. The black suits looked rented and the miens of mourning borrowed. Never before had an outlaw been so honored by the posse. Was he honored for having died in time?

Yet there was a weird feeling in the air on that day, a tremor of urgency throughout the Nation, a sudden fearsome shock. This, somehow, was an unnatural death. A man had died in bed, but the country felt that he had been stoned unto death. This, in spite of its slick communicators and ruling hucksters, is an inarticulate Nation. Too often it expresses its truest feelings by reflexes rather than in orderly prose. And, last Friday, I felt violent shocks contort the well-fed body of the Nation.

Last Friday morning, when the TV networks were finally ready to exploit the death notice of the night before, they found no better climax to the McCarthy story than the allegedly unforgettable TV shots of his collision with the eloquence of Mr. Joseph N. Welch, the attorney from Boston. I for one had forgotten Mr. Welch's act, but, when I saw it again I felt, again, the painful shame of the badinage of what Professor Max Lerner called, the very same Friday, "a part of the history of great utterance." The last time I had witnessed Mr. Welch utter greatly on TV was when he performed, also for a fee (Ford Foundation), as actor-narrator of Lizzie Borden's ax-murder story; and though the greasy old juggler was here much more in his element than in the chambers of statecraft, there was still that phony sanctimonious creak in his voice even when he considered the forty whacks.

Indeed, I can conceive of no better casting for the role of the anti-McCarthyite than that clown from Boston. He, more than any other figure from the comic strip of our age, personifies the establishment. He reeks of gentility. He is as eloquent as a Cicero who has gone to school at Dale Carnegie's. He is as witty as Georgie Jessel himself, as urbane as any one of the Brooks Brothers, almost as sophisticated as the whiz who composes Time's promotion letters, and keen enough a legal mind to fill several pages of close-ups in Life. He is cute. But a century ago, a personality of his dimensions would hardly have qualified its possessor to seek employment as a gentleman's gentleman. Today, it assures for a supernumerary much fame and respect and a more than comfortable living in the employ of an entertainment industry which, let's face it, runs our Government as surely as it runs our television. For Jack London (another organic innocent from the heartland of America) was foolishly wrong when he suspected that the "Iron Heel" of a ruthless gang rules the modern state. It is ruled by the soft-spoken and the soft-brained, the well-mannered and the lukewarm, the genteel and half-educated asses. And Mr. Joseph N. Welch is properly their attorney and clown.

I shall be perfectly satisfied to be called for the rest of my life a McCarthyite, provided Messrs. Welch and Lerner shall be known as anti-McCarthyites. The dividing line is acutely drawn and quite precisely marked. A McCarthyite is a person who is instructed, either by organic innocence or by true sophistication, to fight for his life and his verities—those simple verities which only organic innocence or true sophistication can fathom. An anti-McCarthyite is a person who, for the sake of godlessness, puts the genteel rules of a vulgar game above life itself, above life and the verities which, to an anti-McCarthyite, are only figments of a superstitious imagination.

This, then, shall be the dividing line, and it is drawn across a fresh grave. In this grave we have put, for whatever future God has in His mind, a young man who, in 5 greusome years, was stoned by the genteel into an ultimate fatigue. We do not crave his fate. We dread it. But we are ready to face it. We, too, have seen the gargoyles stare and sneer at us. We, too, are reaching out to crush them. We mean it. We are McCarthyites.

(By Sam Jones)

R. I. P.: "And Joseph dreamed a dream and he told it to his brethren: and they hated him yet the more."—Genesis XXXII: 5.

Almost 7 years ago—September 1950—I had my first meeting with JOE McCARTHY. The occasion was a radio interview for the Arizona network. I did not know what to expect, another Huey Long, a new species of virulent demagog (McCARTHY's enemies had already launched the deadly smear campaign). I found a man of intense sincerity, a patriot whose courage was to prove superb under an ordeal the like of which no one else has suffered in our country in decades. My last radio interview with the Senator was in April 1955. I have preserved the tape recordings of both discussions. Excerpts from both were included in my Arizona broadcast of last week. The years had wrought great changes, but the sincerity, the patriotism, and the courage were as evident in the second interview as in the first. And there was no bitterness. "Once in our times there was a man."

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, one of the members of the staff of the late junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY], L. Brent Bozell, has written an account of some of his experiences as a member of that staff. His article was published in the National Review for May 18, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Record.

This Was a Man

(By L. Brent Bozell)

I did not know him well while he was alive. And because after the deed was done he never reminisced, and politely resisted all invitations to relive the past, the man who fought those exciting battles might just as well have lived a thousand years ago. I have, however, a few very good impressions. Before censure I studied his work, and helped write a book about it; and in the course of professional interviews, caught glimpses of the buoyancy, the strength of will, the awesome singlemindedness, the gentleness.

I have, also, a few concrete recollections. During the Watkins hearings, I saw him, on several occasions, rise from the committee table and stride around the room in an effort to ease the excruciating pain that had plagued him since an abdominal operation 2 years before. Attending newsmen recorded the event as evidence of his arrogance, as an act of calculated contempt for the committee. And a few other incidents that would, I suppose, be more relevant. But I did not know him then. It was not until several weeks after the censure, when I went to work for him, that I came to know intimately, and to love, the wreckage.

What was left? An intellect, still keen and absorbent and discriminating. Still able to concentrate, ruthlessly, on the central problem of our time. And still able, on specific issues, to bore in lightning thrusts to the heart of the matter. But the intellect worked only part time; it needed rest frequently because it had become tired, terribly tired.

And a vivid, moral sense was left. Vivid, I can say, not because I ever heard him verbalize it cogently or eloquently, but because it was clear from watching him make decisions that it completely, imperiously, ruled the man. He was putty in its hands. Forget the objective content of his ideas of right and wrong; I have known few men for whom the moral argument was so obviously the relevant one, for whom intellectual movement from the right thing to do to the thing to do came so naturally.

An iron will was still there, on things that mattered. He never lost his determination to set the world right, to bring down his country's tormentors. And, crazily enough, he remained optimistic about the future, including his own role in the fight. Or so it appeared, as he planned ahead; with the comment he would make tomorrow on the Suez, the speech about aid to Tito, the campaign of 1958.

An afflicted body, tormented by a hundred ailments, remained. Yet this is the kind of body, I am told, that he had had for years.

And an incapacity for gloom. When my heart is torn, I want to cry. He wanted to laugh. His heart was on the rack, and there he sat in the big leather chair in his living room, cracking jokes. Levity is unseemly at wakes. But it was his wake. He was alive to preside over it, and he was damn well going to set the tone.

What, then, was gone? It was one thing, but it was everything. Call it fuel. Whatever it is that makes mind and body do what the spirit wills. The spirit itself, that failed to break—even to dent. Understand this much: that he never gave up. And, therein, the central tragedy. The mind, the will, the spirit, all consciously alive—striving, straining forward. But nothing would move. He once had more of this thing, this fuel, than any man in public life. Now it was gone. And he knew that, too.

He was a boxer, driven to his knees, terribly hurt, wanting to rise and fight again, trying to rise, planning his strategy for the next exchange, wondering why nothing happened, determined to rise, and even smiling a little to prove it. He knew that he would get up, they, that he wouldn't. And he heard them count over him for 2½ years.

At his funeral, Monsignor Cartwright said that God would honor the brave. I suspect, moreover, that God has accounted his gameness on the floor as the bravest act of them all.

I think he did not see the punch coming, but that, afterward, he knew what hit him. He said on a number of occasions during the Watkins hearings, during the Senate debate 2 months later, that he expected to be censured, and didn't much care if he was—that the important thing was that the public still believed in what he was doing. I think he believed that, right up to the moment the blow struck. Then, suddenly, nothing was as important as that his peers had done him a monstrous, personal injustice. He was, in a sense too profound for his peers ever to understand, a clubman. Attacks by individual Senators, he could absorb; as he expected them to absorb whatever he delivered in the give-and-take of everyday political combat. But in their corporate capacity, they could hurt him. They could, indeed, and did, sever the communion. From the gaping wound left by that breach whatever substance it was that had sustained him and kept him charging ahead, instantly poured forth.

The individual Senator who voted against him—though he held some of them in the highest contempt—he quickly forgave. It's a fact: he was temperamentally incapable of bearing personal malice. With the Senate, it was a different matter. He had led it in some of its most important battles; and had fought for it—against the Nation's enemies, and against its own special enemies at home. But the Senate turned on him, and that ruined him. God was merciful to stop his heart.

Remarks by Senator Jenner

Of Indiana

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the broadcast by Fulton Lewis, Jr., on May 2, 1957, regarding the death of Senator McCarthy.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., Broadcast, May 2, 1957

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, this is Fulton Lewis, Jr., speaking from the Mutual studios in Washington, D. C. I'll have the news for you in just a moment.

The controversial Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, no longer is controversial tonight.

The Senator died at 6:02 p. m. at Bethesda Naval Hospital, after 4 days of hospitalization for acute hepatitis. He entered the hospital on Sunday, and had failed to show any improvement since he went there. He began running a temperature elevation again today, and at 5 p. m. the hospital issued a bulletin which stated that the Senator had failed to show any improvement during the day, and the temperature elevation had increased. The bulletin added that Senator McCarthy "still is considered to be seriously ill."

The disease which struck him down did so with dramatic suddenness. As of recent weeks in the teamsters' investigation, he seemed subdued, but otherwise, pretty much himself. He has not been looking well, but that is largely because of the fact that a year ago, he decided he was carrying too much weight, and went on a diet which resulted in a cut down of about 30 to 40 pounds.

He has done little socializing for some time, because of the baby girl, Tierney, whom he and Mrs. McCarthy adopted, and who was the apple of his eye. If the world could have seen the supposedly sinister Joseph McCarthy carrying that baby around in his arms, or dancing capers to make her smile, they would have understood an entirely different person than the one who has been painted to the American people by his political and ideological enemies.

Probably no man in my memory in public life has ever had such a divided public as this one. Half the world hated him; the other worshiped him. He was a dedicated man, with a dragon to slay, and that dragon was communism. It was against the teachings of his church, and against his tenets of Americanism, and he loved both of them, almost fanatically.

And therein lay his destruction, as all who have dared take up the public cudgels against communism have met their downfall. They are instantly marked for destruction, and the destruction is inevitable.

The forces that combined to first oppose, and then destroy JOE McCARTHY—and they succeeded today—were respectable people, people of position—people with pasts, who were afraid that unless JOE McCARTHY was destroyed, they themselves, sooner or later, would be exposed and disgraced.

That was the truth behind the Army-McCarthy hearings. JOE McCARTHY was the front man, in digging into the skeletons of the armed services. That was his crime—that, and no more.

The forces that were behind Senator Flanders, of Vermont, in the charges which he brought and later apologized for, were the shadowy, sneaky figures of an outfit that called itself, profanely, the Committee for an Effective Congress.

The backing and the inspiration was made up of people with fear; people who felt that Senator JOE McCARTHY would get them, unless they got him. And so they did.

Since the Senator no longer needs defense, I wish to say, ladies and gentlemen, that I have never seen such a shocking exhibition of distorted reporting and reportorial untruth, as I witnessed throughout the coverage of the Army-McCarthy hearings.

It was a journalistic lynching party, spurred on by powerful and frightened groups, who were in for the kill—the objective was to discredit a man whom they feared as much as death itself.

The pressure which they generated was such that any reporter who dared try to tell the truth as to what was going on, as I did, was boycotted through sponsors, harassed by defamation, held up to scorn and ridicule, and all but crucified himself.

And the same was true of the Members of the Congress, particularly the Members of the United States Senate, who were stampeded into passing judgment on him.

That was the beginning of the long, slow death of JOE McCARTHY, which finally was consummated in the loneliness of a hospital room at 6:02 p. m. tonight.

That, he took to heart, and he had reason to, because most of those who voted for the censure of Senator McCARTHY did so, with the guilty knowledge that they were playing the role of a Pontius Pilate. They were afraid of the public clamor; afraid of the columnists who had their own reasons for joining in the lynch mob; afraid of the power of influential, supposedly respectable individuals, some of whom were in the mob for their own self-protection, others of whom merely prated and parroted the cliches that they heard from their golfing companions.

Never, in 35 years of reporting, have I seen such an organized lynching as was given to the junior Senator from Wisconsin, and I have no hesitancy in sitting here at this microphone and saying so, forever and forever.

Senator McCarthy was a much softer personality than anyone was ever willing to allow. I knew him. I saw many of those manifestations.

I asked him once whether his mother—who could barely speak understandable English—had lived to see him elected to the Senate. He said no, and he was glad, because she wouldn't have understood it. The height of her pride in her son came when he was elected justice of the peace. That, he said, she could comprehend. That was within the scope of her world. The idea of being a Senator would frighten her. It was too big.

Jeannie Kerr, the secretary who was converted to his Catholicism from a Presbyterian, in order to marry him, was at his bedside as he passed away. What happens to the adopted baby girl, Tierney, nobody knows, because I believe the adoption is subject to a 1-year probation period which has not run, and what happens to Jeannie is a question, too, because there are no pensions for Senator's widows.

Perhaps some memorial trust fund will be set up, by those who believed in the fighting Senator who dared tackle the impossible, and paid for it with his life. There certainly should be, and every Member of the United States Senate who voted for the censure of the junior Senator from Wisconsin should contribute to that memorial fund from his own pocket.

The White House itself might well do the same, because its persistent snubs and rebuffs did their part to bring this end of today. They hurt. I could see them hurt. Joe McCarthy tried to brush them over, but they cut, and they were unnecessary. More than that, they were ill-bred.

They have won. The forces that feared McCarthy have had their way. But I venture to believe that the mark he has left behind him will last a lot longer than they.

Senator Karl Mundt, of South Dakota, has just said that Senator McCarthy's death "takes out of the American political arena a courageous fighter against communism and a stalwart advocate of our traditional American concepts."

News of the death reached the Capitol after most lawmakers had gone home. Its flags, however, were immediately lowered to half mast.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article written by Clifford Ward and published in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel of May 3, 1957.

Good Evening

(By Clifford B. Ward)

The man who was lynched atop Capitol Hill by the 20th century nightriders of political intolerance is dead.

They whipped him, they scourged him, and they strung him up, leaving him to die the slow but possibly willing death of a man who has taken more than even the strongest can bear.

It has happened many times in the past and will happen again, in spite of all the protestations of brotherhood, in spite of all the drumbeats for tolerance of differences, in spite of all the protestations against abuse of people whose ideas aren't acceptable.

What was done to Senator Joseph McCarthy should never have been done to any human being, but it was. Today, his enemies who are honest must be quietly rejoicing, while his admirers quietly mourn.

WHO WAS THIS MAN?

Who was this horrible man, whom the Senate of the United States censured, whom two Presidents of the United States snubbed, and whose name was used as a synonym for something evil? What was his crime?

He was an American lad from a Midwest farm State, who thought that if he worked and studied hard enough he might become a lawyer in record time, which he did, and possibly become a judge in record time, which he also did. He was a kid who thought that he, like everyone else in health, had a duty to fight for his country and he went to war, not as a desk clerk in Washington, but as a marine in the field of battle.

He saw action, won medals and picked up steel fragments in a knee, but all this was later to be poohpoohed by enemies whose only contact with battlefields and wars were through reading about them or seeing them in newsreels.

FOUGHT BARE KNUCKLED

They had the effrontery to call him a coward. They had the effrontery to imply that his wounds were the fabrications of a liar. He came home to be elected Senator by the sovereign citizens of a sovereign State, and he was on his way, until he began fighting communism and Communists bare knuckled. From then on, he was in trouble.

He discovered that a slurring remark about the United States in this New World of ours is something to evoke applause, but a damaging statement about the new experiment in tyranny emanating from the Kremlin is something to be hissed.

His was a losing fight and his enemies got him as they got Martin Dies, as they got Whittaker Chambers, as they got everyone who stood up to them and fought.

There were things wrong with Senator McCARTHY. He had a man's heavy beard that grew too fast on a face that was meant for a football lineman. He talked with a halting, bumbling timber that made his vocal assaults sound like those of a Sherman tank. He hadn't been taught at an eastern boarding school to call a lie an equivocation. He bluntly tagged it "a lie," and its author, "a liar."

NOT TAUGHT MODERN GRACES

He had never been taught that the modern graces call for being nice to enemies when talking to them but to get them from behind. He just doubled up his fist and smacked them in the face. For that he was called borish and crude. Possibly he was. He drank whisky when he felt like it and never thought to lie about it. He used profanity now and then and believed that maybe in the circle of men, while it wasn't approvable, it wasn't criminal.

There wasn't much they didn't do to Senator McCARTHY. They belittled his war record. They scoffed at his medals and his injuries. They tried to say that he was a crook and he made those who said so eat their words. They accused him of income-tax evasion and the Treasury gave the lie to this by sending him a tax refund. They even tried to alienate his wife by the lie that he was a homosexual. They even tried to say that he was a Huey Long, bent upon being a new political boss of the United States.

Senator McCARTHY discovered what most people discover, that life is a battlefield and that not all soldiers retire from it in a field of glory. To him, death was an honorable discharge. He retired from battle, knowing one thing that not even his enemies could deny, namely, that he never ran from a fight. May he be in the hands of better friends than he found here.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial which appeared in the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel of May 4, 1957.

JOSEPH McCARTHY, GREAT AMERICAN

In the death of Wisconsin Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY America loses perhaps its most dynamic and uncompromisingly outspoken personality since Teddy Roosevelt. Even the Senator's most bitter foes would agree that there never was anything static about JOE McCARTHY. Even they would also be obliged to agree that he kept the issue of Communist infiltration in America (unfounded bugaboo they termed it) more dramatically in the public eye than any other person.

Indeed, in this Senator McCARTHY became an international figure and a national issue, during the height of his career from 1950 to 1954, in which as chairman of the Senate Un-American Activities Committee and in the public forum, he took on all comers, including two Presidents of the United States.

So volatile and uncompromising a personality as JOE McCARTHY, projected into the national prominence that was destined to be his on the issue of communism, could not help but win both profound and loyal friends, as well as fierce enemies. No man ever fought more courageously and earnestly in the Senate for the things he deemed right.

His zeal and unfailing courage and adamant refusal to compromise and dispose of cases of alleged complicity with, or softness toward, Communist infiltration here, "quietly and diplomatically" brought him in conflict with the high and the mighty, including two Presidents and the Senate, which censured him on the grounds that he "acted contrary to senatorial ethics and tended to bring the Senate into disrepute and dishonor" and for "intemperate abuse" of Brig. Gen. Ralph Zwicker.

McCARTHY accused former President Truman and others in the Truman administration of keeping top subversives in the Government after the FBI had warned them that these traitors were spying against their Government.

And he accused President Eisenhower of congratulating Senators who hampered "the exposure of communism" and of putting up "a shrinking show of weakness toward Red Chinese who are torturing and brainwashing American uniformed men."

Senator McCARTHY's controversy with those high in the Government waxed most bitter in his committee's investigation of Communist infiltration in the Army, when they came to the rescue of Maj. Irving Peress and General Zwicker, who were called before the Senate committee. When McCARTHY asked Major Peress about charges he had been a Communist and had attended a Communist leadership school, Peress declined to answer any questions concerning his Communist connections, taking refuge behind the fifth amendment, when because of his refusal to give any explanation of the charges, Senator McCarthy declared that Peress should be court-martialed. He was 3 days later given an honorable discharge instead. And when General Zwicker was called before the committee and questioned about the Peress honorable discharge, Secretary of the Army Stevens issued a resounding defense of Zwicker and an intemperate denunciation of McCarthy.

McCarthy also gained the ill will of the Eisenhower administration for criticizing it for retaining such men as John Paton Davies in the State Department after the McCarran committee, headed by the late Democratic Senator Pat McCarran, charged that "John Paton Davies, Jr., testified falsely before the subcommittee in denying he recommended to the Central Intelligence Agency that it employ, utilize, and rely upon certain individuals having Communist association and connections."

Senator McCarthy's rise to worldwide fame was distinctly in the American tradition that no one in America can be born so humble as not to have the hope of rising as high as his talents and ambitions merit. A Wisconsin farm boy and 1 of 7 children, he was early initiated to the rigors of hard farmwork and his early educational advantages were very limited. He worked in a grocery store to enable him to get a high-school education and applied himself so zealously that he completed the 4-year course in 1 year, which prompted the principal to refer to him as "the irresistible force who overcame the immovable object."

In so inescapably alerting his country to the grave menace of the worldwide Communist conspiracy, Senator McCarthy rendered the Nation an invaluable service. His stature will rise with the passing of time just like that of the five Senators honored by the Senate the other day—Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Robert La Follette, and Robert A. Taft, all of whom also had been unmercifully abused.

May his great and untiring soul enjoy the repose that it so justly merits.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the text of a radio broadcast by me on May 19, 1957, in honor of the late Senator McCarthy.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JENNER

My friends, I should like to talk to you about the Senate of the United States.

On the morning of May 6, the rostrum in the Senate Chamber was banked with flowers, white and a glowing red. The casket in front of the rostrum was covered with the American flag, and a Marine guard stood at attention. The chaplain of the Senate, the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, of the Methodist faith, spoke of Senator JOE MCCARTHY's great courage in exposing "cunning foes who plot the betrayal of our freedom." The Reverend William J. Ewalt, who married Senator MCCARTHY just 4 years ago, read the Catholic service of sorrow for the dead, and hope for their triumphant entry into their heavenly home.

I am not going to speak to you about Senator JOE MCCARTHY's great fight to uncover the secret enemies of our country, nor of the way his life was destroyed by the venomous, vengeful, unremitting attacks of his foes. You know the story.

I wish to speak today about the Senate.

There were 40 Republicans and 37 Democrats present. These men were not present, most of them, for any official act of mourning. They were present as human beings, sorrowing for the tragedy they had witnessed, and in which they had had a part.

All of the Democrats (except the newly elected Members) had voted for the censure resolution. The Democratic Speaker of the House, from Texas, and the Democratic majority leader, from Massachusetts, were also present to pay their respects.

Nearly half of the Republicans who attended had voted for the censure, but they too came as human beings, only too well aware how deep was the suffering now ended.

One Cabinet member, Secretary Summerfield, was also present.

I wish to say to you, my friends, that a terrible breach in the American civil order began to heal on that day. We had come nearer than any of us guessed, to a breakdown in the American genius for political self-control.

Only one who lived through it can imagine the fierce pressure that was brought to bear upon the Members of the Senate 3 years ago, to accept the Communist myth about JOE MCCARTHY. According to their character assassins, he was violating the traditions of American fair play by asking witnesses questions. He was "helping the Communists" because he did not falter in his efforts. He was accused of all kinds of personal indiscretions, some charges too odious to mention among gentlemen. All of these Communist charges were of course put forward by innocents and secret collaborators who did not bear the brand of their master.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

Joe McCarthy has been completely vindicated of all the personal charges hurled against him, especially of the baseless slander that he had not paid the income taxes he owed. But my story today is of how the Senate is freeing itself of the poisonous influences that beclouded its judgment wherever disguised Communist influence was at work.

The attack on Joe McCarthy was managed at every step like a military campaign, except that the Communists use words, instead of bullets, because words are more deadly.

Fulton Lewis in his broadcast stated what I believe to be true, that most of the Republicans who voted against Senator McCarthy were sorry they had done it, but had been unable to resist the overwhelming pressure. It is important, to the American people, to find out who put that irresistible pressure on the Senate, and why.

The Communist attack on the Senator from Wisconsin was in part an attack on the Senator as an individual, because, like General Patton, he had dared go forward after each contest. He had come so close to the citadels of their power that he must be destroyed.

But the attack on Senator McCarthy was also an attack on the Senate. The Communists knew the friends of Senator McCarthy were loyal. The anti-Communists knew how great was the triumph won by the enemy in the censure vote. The Communists believed they could stir up, in the American Senate, a bitter factional battle, like that which has turned many a parliament in Europe into a milling crowd impotent to serve their country.

During the debate on the censure resolution, I pointed out again and again that the real attack was against the Senate of the United States. I pointed out that the Bolsheviks had a well-established policy of reducing parliamentary processes to impotence. I said the attack was managed by a conspiratorial general staff, and no one man could fight a conspiracy. I pleaded with the other Senators to see the danger, and to join ranks in protecting our Nation.

It was too early, the pressure was too great, for most Members to see.

The censure vote split the Republicans in Congress down the middle. It placed the Democrats as a body in opposition to the Republicans. What a setting for the favorite Communist device of pouring gasoline on the little fires of controversy.

Americans can hardly imagine how fortunate a thing it was for our country that that factional split was avoided. We have to look at the parliaments of Europe from pre-Fascist Italy to present day France, to know how great was our danger.

JOE MCCARTHY made no effort to rouse the passions of his followers and make his humiliation into a bitter national battle. No man in American political life ever had so great an opportunity for demagoguery, or refused so gallantly to take advantage of it.

But the split in the Senate was avoided also because of some deep instinct within the membership, to keep our political stability at all costs. The American people are the heirs of 700 years of self-government, that is, of political responsibility. That deep-ingrained sense of political responsibility held us firm while the Communists used their most brilliant leaders, their cleverest strategems, and their most helpful stooges to make the Senate keel over.

JOE MCCARTHY was a victim of that silent struggle from 1954 to 1957, because he did not realize how many people were coming to see his charges were true. The struggle was with forces too vast and too hidden to be managed normally.

This struggle, within the ranks of the Senate, between the cleverest attempts at subversion of its Members and the deepest national instincts of political stability, was too new in America, too close to political life or death, to be expressed in words. Every nation of Europe, subjected to such pressure, has caved in. Our inner struggle had the dimensions of a fight for preservation of the last stronghold of representative government in the world.

I hope we have won through. Only a few weeks ago, the same forces which like a mighty bellows, turned the disagreements over JOE MCCARTHY into a consuming flame of hate throughout the country, tried to repeat every one of their murderous strategems to make the Norman case into a similar attack, to split the Senate into factions, and make it impotent to protect our Nation.

This time the Senate was ready. All the blasts the Communists could turn against us, all the lies and smears, were ready to be hurled, if the Senate leaders had shown the slightest indecision. The Senate stood firm.

Our country is still in danger. The American people look to the Members of their Congress to be the watchmen on the city wall, to warn them of attack. I believe the Members of the Senate can now recognize the enemy with a clarity they did not have 3 years ago. I believe that never again will disguised Communists be able to rout the Congress when it must stand fast.

I do not know anything which would bring more happiness to JOE MCCARTHY than to know his sacrifice has not been in vain, that the watchmen on the wall will stand guard, however dark the night, or however insidious the enemy.

The day when the Senate met to pay the last honors to Senator MCCARTHY may be the day when our country began its slow and painful upward climb out of the poisonous morass of Communist seduction, to the light of American honor, and dignity, and loyalty of true Americans for one another.

Mr. JENNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a radio interview of Dr. J. B. Matthews by Mr. Hardy Burt, broadcast over the Mutual Broadcasting System, May 22, 1957, entitled "The McCarthy I Knew."

THE McCARTHY I KNEW—HARDY BURT INTERVIEWS J. B. MATTHEWS ON MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Mr. BURT. Few Americans did more to influence the state of the Nation thân Senator JOE McCARTHY, and with perhaps a few exceptions no American in history gained so many dedicated admirers and friends and made so many implacable, even very emotional enemies. When the name, McCARTHY, was almost a daily fixture on the front pages of the Nation's newspapers, the mere mention of that name in a crowded room was guaranteed to set off some kind of verbal explosion. Our topic this evening is The McCARTHY I Knew. Senator McCARTHY, as he was known by one of his closest and most loyal friends, J. B. Matthews, at one time executive director of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, the famed McCarthy committee. I have been able to persuade Dr. Matthews to come and be our guest here this evening. He has accepted extremely few invitations since his retirement from that committee several years ago to appear on any kind of broadcasts, radio or television. But, in view of Senator McCARTHY's death, Dr. Matthews has acceded to our invitation to appear to discuss The McCARTHY I Knew. Dr. Matthews was well known, incidentally, before he was executive director of the McCarthy committee, as director of research of the Dies committee.

J. B., millions of Americans, of course, were loyal friends of JOE McCARTHY, applauding his campaign to rid the Government of Communist influence and spies and, on the other hand, millions literally hated him. I hate to use that word—they just hated his guts, that was what they did. Why did so many Americans, in your opinion, literally hate JOE McCARTHY?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the first place, let me say that JOE McCARTHY was not only an inspiring leader for me personally, but a dear personal friend. I think the answer to your question, "Why did so many people hate Senator McCARTHY?" is found in a very simple statement, namely, the influence of the Communist conspiracy extends outward to reach almost incredible lengths. People who were never sympathetic with the Communists, who had nothing but hostility in their own thoughts concerning communism, were, nevertheless, drawn into the web of hatred which was initiated by the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. BURT. Do you think, J. B., that most Americans who did hate MCCARTHY could specifically tell you why they hated him?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No. I have tried to get many of them to do that and I have found that they are stumped for an answer.

Mr. BURT. When did you first meet Senator MCCARTHY?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I first met Senator MCCARTHY on the evening of March 7, 1950, in the lobby of the Statler Hotel in Washington, D. C. I may say that the meeting was arranged by a very well-known publisher who called me by telephone and asked me to come to Washington to meet the Senator to go over with him certain data which the Senator was to use in his appearance before the Tydings committee on the morning of March 8. At that meeting in the Statler Hotel, several other people were present, including the wife of Senator MCCARTHY who was then Miss Jean Kerr——

Mr. BURT. His secretary at that time——

Mr. MATTHEWS. One of his assistants. Also present was his devoted secretary, Mary Driscoll.

Mr. BURT. Well, why—what was the purpose of this meeting, J. B., may I ask you that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, as I said, the purpose of the meeting was to go over certain data.

Mr. BURT. In connection with the Tydings committee hearings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That's right. You will remember that Senator MCCARTHY made a speech in Wheeling, W. Va., on February 9, 1950, in which he alleged that certain Communist influences had been dominant in the State Department. That speech aroused considerable national interest and drew the fire of certain Senators, and MCCARTHY was called upon to appear before a special committee set up under the chairmanship of Senator Millard Tydings, of Maryland.

Mr. BURT. Well how did it happen, Mr. Matthews, how did it happen, J. B., that you became executive director of the so-called McCarthy committee?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Several years after this first meeting with Senator MCCARTHY, the Senator became chairman of the Senate permanent investigation subcommittee in January of 1953. During the previous 3 years I had collaborated very closely with Senator MCCARTHY in his work and apparently he considered that my presence with the subcommittee would be of some assistance.

Mr. BURT. How long were you the executive director, J. B.?

Mr. **Matthews.** For approximately 18 days, as I recall the exact number of days.

Mr. **Burt.** Those were quite hectic days, too, I rather imagine.

Mr. **Matthews.** Yes; if I may revert to the record. Shortly before I went to Washington to become executive director of the McCarthy committee, I had published an article in the American Mercury magazine on the Communist infiltration into the ranks of clergymen. The article was written long before Senator McCarthy invited me to become executive director of his committee and he had no knowledge of the article. The article drew the fire of outstanding politicians and papers and other mediums of communication.

Mr. **Burt.** As well as a great many of the Protestant clergy, I should think.

Mr. **Matthews.** Well, that's correct, but I think I should say that it was not the article that was under fire and it was not J. B. Matthews who was under fire. It was simply an excuse for attacking Senator McCarthy.

Mr. **Burt.** Then in your opinion it was a way of getting at Senator McCarthy. Would you stand by today what you wrote in the article at that time, J. B.?

Mr. **Matthews.** Certain very, very distinguished Protestant clergymen have said in print, including the Saturday Evening Post, that I understated the case very grossly.

Mr. **Burt.** Do you think the situation is better now insofar as Communist infiltration of the clergy is concerned than it was at that time?

Mr. **Matthews.** Oh, immeasurably better, and by that I mean that the Protestant clergy have now been alerted to a point where only the hard core fellow travelers among them still persist in following the party line.

Mr. **Burt.** There aren't so many dupes, in other words, in your opinion.

Mr. **Matthews.** The dupes have been stripped away, for the most part.

Mr. **Burt.** J. B., do you think Senator McCarthy smeared innocent people as so often alleged?

Mr. **Matthews.** That's a very general question, and I've heard the accusation made quite frequently. When I have asked for specific details, they have never been forthcoming. If you'll give me a single illustration, let's discuss that.

Mr. **Burt.** Well, how about this Miss Moss in that famous case? Mrs. Moss, was that her name? Annie Moss?

Mr. **Matthews.** Annie Lee Moss? Well, now, there's an interesting case. Senator McCarthy had nothing whatever to do with the accusations or allegations made against Annie Lee Moss. A witness called before his committee, by the name of Mrs. Mary Markward, identified Annie Lee Moss as a Community Party member from whom she collected dues. And I should say, to make this perfectly clear, that Mrs. Mary Markward was an undercover agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Whatever error may or may not have been made, it was not of the making of Senator McCarthy.

Mr. Burt. But it has been charged that he did often falsely accuse innocent people, hasn't it?

Mr. Matthews. As I have just cited a single example, the charge against Mrs. Moss was made not by Senator McCarthy. The charge was made by an undercover agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and there's still a great deal of doubt as to whether the testimony given by Mrs. Mary Markward was accurate or inaccurate.

Mr. Burt. Well, what you're saying is that a great many people falsely accused innocent Senator McCarthy, is that what you're saying?

Mr. Matthews. That's correct.

Mr. Burt. You knew the Senator as well, perhaps, almost as well as any man in the world. Do you think that he deliberately sought publicity? Was he a publicity hound?

Mr. Matthews. Any man who is a Member of the United States Senate will receive a certain amount of publicity by virtue of his membership in that august body, particularly if he happens to be the chairman of an important Senate committee. Publicity is unavoidable. When Senator McCarthy launched his crusade to rid the Government of the United States of Communists and Communist dupes and fellow travelers, no one could have expected him to keep his information secret. When he gave it to the public, naturally the press carried it.

Mr. Burt. During the latter months of his life, J. B., it has been charged by friends of Senator McCarthy that the press met him with a campaign of silence, a wall of silence so far as the press is concerned. Do you think the press deliberately ignored Senator McCarthy?

Mr. Matthews. No; I don't think so; I saw his name in print quite frequently. In fact, only a day or two before the Senator's death, U. S. News & World Report featured a statement which he made in answer to an inquiry concerning the definition of modern Republicans. Senator McCarthy answered, "A modern Republican is somebody who was not a Republican at all until 1952."

Mr. Burt. It was very clear, from many evidences, including the fact that the Senator and his wife were never invited by President

Eisenhower to any White House function that the President had indeed an extreme distaste for Senator McCarthy. He didn't like him and, obviously Senator McCarthy didn't care too much for President Eisenhower either. What is the story back of this? Is there anything that has not been reported in the press that you could tell us as to the animosity between President Eisenhower and Senator McCarthy?

Mr. Matthews. There was obviously political hostility between the Senator and the President. I don't know that he was never invited to the White House. He may have been in the earlier days of the Eisenhower administration.

Mr. Burt. In the latter days, I was thinking, since the friction, the division between Senator McCarthy and President Eisenhower.

Mr. Matthews. I think one day the story will be told of the meeting at the Department of Justice, the news of which John Adams accidentally let slip in his testimony during the Army-McCarthy hearings. You'll remember that as soon as Mr. Adams let that information slip out, namely, that there had been such a meeting at the Department of Justice, the President clamped down on all information concerning that meeting and disallowed its being investigated by the Army-McCarthy committee.

Mr. Burt. Do you think that President Eisenhower's hostility to Senator McCarthy was occasioned by the fact that McCarthy was seeking Communist influence in the United States Army, and, of course, the United States Army would be the pet of General Eisenhower?

Mr. Matthews. Senator McCarthy was not conducting a hunt for Communists in the Army. He was simply seeking to expose information which had come to him from Army sources concerning the presence of Communists in the Army. You remember the famous case of the promotion of Peress from one rank to a higher rank after he had been identified as a Communist Party member by the McCarthy committee investigations.

Mr. Burt. J. B., who promoted Peress?

Mr. Matthews. As it was finally told by the Army itself, the final decision for the promotion of Peress came from John Adams, the general counsel of the Army.

Mr. Burt. Dr. Matthews, it's been said that with all of the activity of Senator McCarthy, of all the hearings, the millions of words taken of witnesses, and so forth, that he never actually sent a Communist to jail. What would you say about that?

Mr. Matthews. As you well know, and as the public, I think, knows, it is not the function of a congressional committee to prosecute persons for crimes. There would be no possibility of sending a man to jail as the direct result of a congressional inquiry. It's also true that the Federal Bureau of Investigation does not have powers of prosecution. It can be said quite as well that the FBI has never sent a Communist to jail. It's the business of the FBI to gather information; it's also the business of congressional committees to gather information and make such information available to the Department of Justice, and, in the case of congressional committees, to make it available to the public.

Mr. BURT. Some commentators have said that the reason for McCARTHY's crusade and subsequent publicity that he personally was receiving, that the reason for this was that he was seeking the Presidency of the United States. You knew the Senator quite well. Was he seeking the Presidency of the United States, J. B.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. If the Senator had in the background of his mind or thinking an aspiration to become President of the United States, he never let me in on that secret. However, it should be pointed out, I think, that there's no disgrace in a man's aspiring to be President of the United States. His enemies have been the ones who have made this allegation. It used to be considered an honorable thing for every boy born in the United States to aspire to become President.

Mr. BURT. But you don't know definitely whether or not JOE McCARTHY was actually seeking the Presidency of the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, so far as the evidence is concerned, I would say that he definitely was not considering ever aspiring to be President of the United States.

Mr. BURT. J. B., I know what a really loyal, dedicated, confirmed friend you were of Senator McCARTHY, that you often spoke to him on the telephone; that he was often a guest in your house; you were his guest in Washington. Do you think, though, that at some times perhaps Senator McCARTHY did get off the beam a little bit in his attitude toward witnesses in the vigor in which he talked to them and questioned them, or not?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; I don't think so. But let's examine that question for a moment. The successor to Senator McCARTHY, as chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, Senator John McClellan, of Arkansas, is, in my opinion, a much tougher interrogator than was Senator McCARTHY. I see nothing at all amiss in an interrogator of witnesses pursuing his inquiry with all possible vigilance and firmness.

Mr. **Burt.** When was the last time, J. B., that you talked with Senator McCarthy? What was his attitude at that time? When was it that you talked with him last before his death?

Mr. **Matthews.** Senator McCarthy went to the hospital on Sunday evening. He called me on the telephone the previous Sunday morning and asked me to assemble certain data for him, and I was busily doing that at the time he passed away.

Mr. **Burt.** He gave you no indication that he had any premonition that he would actually die then?

Mr. **Matthews.** Certainly not; he seemed to be in the best of spirits, as vigorous as ever to pursue the course of his own particular inquiry, namely, the influence of Communists in the United States.

Mr. **Burt.** J. B., it has been said that the Senator had a great deal of personal charm. Did you find in your experience with him that this was true, that his personality was very good, and that personally with people, with his friends, with his constituents he revealed a great deal of charm?

Mr. **Matthews.** Senator McCarthy's enemies has depicted him as a pugnacious, violent, and passionately unbalanced crusader. I never knew any such Joe McCarthy. On the contrary, he was as even-tempered, as lacking in violent passions as any man with whom I was ever associated. His personal charm was very contagious; I've seen it at work in many instances. When he would leave a hotel where he had just delivered a speech, he would unfailingly greet persons on the sidewalk who recognized him, he would walk to the corner of the block to shake hands with the policeman on the beat, and this was in States where he was not seeking votes.

Mr. **Burt.** What do you think really made Joe McCarthy take in his crusade against Communists and the vigor with which he carried on that crusade? What was back of it; what started him in that role, J. B., would you say?

Mr. **Matthews.** You've asked two questions. What started him I'm not in a position to say. But I am in a position to say that from the time I became associated with him until the time of his death, he was a man who never deviated from his fixed purpose to expose the Communist conspiracy, which, in his mind, constituted a threat against civilization itself.

Mr. **Burt.** And it's your opinion that there was an organized campaign because of the manner in which he did prosecute this campaign, this crusade of his, that there was an organized campaign to get McCarthy, as such?

Mr. **Matthews**. May I refer to a document which I prepared for use in the censure hearings before the United States Senate in the fall of 1954? I entitled this brief "Operation Get McCarthy," and if I may I'll read a few sentences from it to give you the answer to what I——

Mr. **Burt**. Just a few sentences because our time is short——

Mr. **Matthews**. "Let us be under no illusions or misapprehensions. The Communist Party of the United States, an arm of the international Communist conspiracy, directed from the Kremlin, is the originator and successful manager of 'Operation Get McCarthy.' If the United States Senate votes censure of the Senator from Wisconsin, the Communist Party of the United States will have carried to final success the most extensive and impressive operation of the entire 33 years of its existence. If the United States Senate votes censure of the Senator from Wisconsin, the Communist Party of the United States will have demonstrated its power to capture the minds of a large section of the American people. This will have been a consummation too dreadful and too fantastic to contemplate. The leaders of the Communist Party, from their prison cells in Leavenworth and Atlanta, will exult over their greatest achievement to date."

Mr. **Burt**. There's been a lot of talk going on about McCarthy's place in history, so far as it's recorded in history books. What do you think, J. B.?

Mr. **Matthews**. In my opinion, Senator McCarthy has already taken his place among the immortals of the United States Senate.

Remarks by Senator Johnson

Of Texas

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the executive committee of the Sons of the Republic of Texas, a distinguished patriotic organization in my State, recently adopted an In Memoriam resolution regarding the late Senator McCARTHY.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Record.

IN MEMORIAM

The United States has lost a devoted patriot and a militant fighter for Americanism in the untimely death of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY of Wisconsin. He fought valiantly for his country on the battlefields of the Pacific as a marine officer during the Second World War. As a Member of the United States Senate and chairman of that august body's committee charged with investigating subversive activities, he revealed to America's millions the menace of communism and its insidious efforts to undermine our institutions of freedom. So intense was his love for America that he willingly sacrificed health and political future to fight for the preservation of the principles on which this great country was founded.

Appearing under auspices of the San Jacinto Chapters, Sons of Daughters of the Republic of Texas, Senator McCARTHY gave an inspiring address on Americanism at the battlefield of San Jacinto, April 21, 1954, anniversary of that decisive battle which won independence for Texas. Some 12,000 Texans were present for the occasion, and newspapers, radio, and television carried his message to millions throughout the country.

The executive committee of the Sons of the Republic of Texas, meeting Sunday, May 5, 1957, in the Driskill Hotel at Austin, Tex., noted with sorrow the passing of this great American and by resolution authorized the secretary-treasurer and president to draft this memorial for presentation to his widow and to the Senate of the United States.

THE SONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS,
ANDREW DILWORTH, *President.*
FRANK E. TRITICO, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

Remarks by Senator Knowland

Of California

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Record the sermon delivered at St. Matthew's Cathedral in eulogy of the late Senator McCARTHY by the Right Reverend John K. Cartwright at the requiem Mass for the repose of his soul.

SERMON DELIVERED BY THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT AT THE REQUIEM MASS FOR THE REPOSE OF THE SOUL OF THE HONORABLE JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, MAY 6, 1957, ST. MATTHEW'S CATHEDRAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Many thoughts and emotions crowd on us today as we gather to render a last farewell to one who filled such a large part in the lives of all of us.

First there are the very human and unwelcome thoughts that come to us in the presence of death. We are in our own minds such an inseparable part of this life on earth that the termination of it for anyone else seems something wrong and terrible and repugnant, particularly when, as today, the mystery is made more dark and strange by the so-called untimeliness of death, and still more so by the contrast of death's marble sleep with the very exceptional endowment of vitality and strength that once belonged to the departed.

Next are the thoughts that come to those who were associated with the Senator in the bonds of friendship, whether that friendship rose from personal and individual contacts or whether it had its origin in labor and concern for the causes that so passionately interested him. Those bonds are now severed with the finality that death brings and that nothing disputes. Now these friends will no longer meet and work together with him. For them this day is weighted with very grievous thoughts.

Many more people who did not share the privilege of his personal friendship will feel stirrings both of gratitude and of regret at the passing of his public testimony to clearminded citizenship.

There are millions who will never forget what he did for our country in this time of the testing of the nations.

Lastly, there are thoughts of sympathy with those who were closest to the departed, with the wife whose graciousness and affection were blended with such unusual understanding and helpfulness, with the little child who did not reach the age to know this father, but who will learn to be proud of the place that belongs to him in the annals of patriotism.

Senator McCARTHY filled in the last few years a role which will be more and more honored as history unfolds its record. It was his privilege in a time of great confusion to have a clear vision on the great political problem of our time. Of course, everybody has become aware of the fact that communism is the greatest enemy of our society at least in its form of imperialism and aggression. Not everybody saw from the beginning, and many still do not see, that the threat of communism is domestic as well as foreign, civil as well as military. But this man saw it clearly and knew that it is an evil with which there can be no compromise. It has been the tragedy of our day that so many have been willing to deal with communism, to trade with it, to hope for the best from it, to consider it as a non-Anglo-Saxon form of democracy, or even as a variant of Christianity. Those who have come to grips with actual communism in the countries of the Iron Curtain know that it is an unmixed evil. Those who have had to fight it in Korea know that there is no good ever to come of it. The late President of the Philippines, for example, was one who saw it to its depths and his last word on his last day was to warn his people that they should use no half measures in repelling it. In spite of all such warnings there has been a strange confusion and ill-founded optimism in American political life. In such a situation no greater service could have been rendered to our country than was rendered by this watchman of the citadel who insisted upon a clear understanding by our people of the nature of this enemy and of its power not only to attack but to undermine our institutions of freedom.

But his was not only a clear mind. To be clear in the time of confusion is also to have courage, the courage fearlessly to stand in the minority until the majority shall come to understand the essence of the matter. This took no ordinary bravery. There is no one more resentful of the hero than those who do not want to be saved because they do not know that they are threatened. There were many such. Their number is much lessened now. Millions of people now see the truth which was only perceived by hundreds before this man gave his testimony. To do this required a magnificent heart of courage such as has been needed at every time for those who saw ahead. He will take his place among those colleagues of the hall of fame each one of whom is great in memory because at one time or another he had the fortitude to stand alone.

Such was this man's earthly achievement and such his title to enduring fame. However, the burial service of the Catholic Church is not primarily intended either as a farewell or as a eulogy of the departed. It is rather a supplication to Almighty God for the repose of a soul and as an admonition to those who stay behind that the city of man on earth is not a lasting one. It is a reminder of mortality that is common to all of us, of sin that each commits and of judgment that each one faces, of God's merciful dispensation of forgiveness, and of the calling to immortal life of all followers of the risen Christ. These great truths are transcendent to all individual considerations. Therefore the requiem and absolution are of universal application. Throughout the ages the same prayers of supplication and of warning have been said and chanted over saint and sinner, over pastor and people, over pope and king and president. The great Saint Pius X was raised only lately to the honors of canonization, but when he departed this world many years ago, the same prayers were said that God might forgive his sins and that all might take a lesson from his departure and judgment that their own departure and judgment would someday come. And so the church insists at all the burials of her faithful on these solemn truths. And so she insists today and asks us to remember with her this newly departed soul that he may have a merciful judgment as he has gone forth in the faith of Christ and that he may come to God's love and to his destined home in heaven.

So let us not forget these grave lessons today as we gather around the earthly remains of Senator McCarthy. These remains rest here for awhile before God's altar that their presence may bespeak his faith in these truths. And we join in the rites and prayers so as to renew and reasseverate our confidence in the Christian outlook on the mystery of death. Just a few days ago this soul lived on earth. Earth's aims and ambitions, earth's struggles and successes and failures, earth's friendship and love and happiness all were very real to him. Now they have no longer any meaning to him except insofar as his work was good in God's sight and insofar as God's will transplants the friendships and loves he cherished into the great communion of saints in heaven. Only that part of life which God rewards and that other part which is capable of transmutation into eternal life, only those parts are now of concern to him who has been called by God to the fulfillment of his eternal destiny. And our purpose in being here at his obsequies should be, a little bit to grieve perhaps, a little bit to express our admiration and our gratitude, a little bit to shrink at death, all these in our human, natural way. But in our Christian, supernatural way we should be here to reassert our belief in immortality, to reach our hand of help to him in prayer, to take to ourselves the consolation of knowing that, whither he has gone, we also by God's grace shall come.

So we take leave in our human way of the Senator and public man, of the friend, of the beloved husband and father. But we also take leave in our Christian way of a brother Christian who has gone to God. To God we surrender, what God gave only in part to this world, a soul that was made for God and heaven. And we feel confident that in God's place under God's love there will be rest for the weary, reward for the faithful, and honor for the brave.

Remarks by Senator Kuchel

Of California

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, on the occasion of the passing of our late beloved colleague, JOSEPH MCCARTHY, memorial resolutions were passed across the country by representative civic groups. Two of such resolutions were adopted by the Republican State Central Committee of California and by the board of supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of each resolution be printed in the Record.

RESOLUTION 2

Whereas Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY of Wisconsin had during his lifetime been in the forefront in humanity's fight against Communism; and

Whereas his death has been a great loss to the American people; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Republican State Central Committee of California regrets the passing of Senator MCCARTHY; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to Mrs. Joseph McCarthy and California's Representatives in Congress.

Adopted May 10, 1957.

RESOLUTION 17787—IN MEMORIAM, SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY

Whereas thousands of San Franciscans have been profoundly saddened to note the passing of United States Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY of Wisconsin; and

Whereas the tragic loss visited on the sorrowing family of the late Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY is one which will be shared in great measure by all enlightened people throughout the world, who accorded him the deepest respect for his uncompromising honesty and steadfast devotion to the highest American principles: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco adjourn its meeting this day out of respect to the memory of the late Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY; and that a suitable copy of this resolution be tendered to his bereaved widow, Mrs. Jean Kerr McCarthy, as an expression of the board's heartfelt sympathy and condolence.

(The foregoing resolution was introduced by Supervisor James Leo Halley, on behalf of all members of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, and adopted by unanimous vote thereof at the Board meeting held on Monday, May 6, 1957.)

JOHN JAY FERDON,
President of the Board of Supervisors.
JOHN R. MCGRATH,
Clerk of the Board of Supervisors.
GEO. CHRISTOPHER,
Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco.

Remarks by Senator Malone

Of Nevada

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the text of the radio broadcasts by Fulton Lewis, Jr., May 3, 6, and 7, 1957, on Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

[From the Fulton Lewis, Jr., broadcasts of May 3, 6, and 7, 1957]

SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY

MAY 3, 1957

The body of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY of Wisconsin is lying in state tonight at a Washington funeral home, and will remain so over the weekend so the public may pay its respects; and Senate leaders decided today that a state funeral in the Chamber of the Senate which he loved so devotedly will be held on Monday morning at 11 o'clock, with a Catholic priest and the chaplain of the Senate presiding.

It is the first time such services have been held in the Senate Chamber since the one for the late Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, and it is an honor that has been accorded to few men in history.

The committee which decided on the arrangements consisted of Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, Senator William Knowland of California, Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas, and Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona. Shortly before noon they called on Mrs. McCarthy at the little remodeled house just three blocks from the Capitol, and asked her wishes, and she agreed to the Senate funeral. She was haggard and tired, but she was calm and in complete possession of herself and she has held up admirably throughout the day. During the night she got a few snatches of sleep, and close friends have been with her constantly, in shifts, since they picked her up yesterday afternoon at Bethesda Naval Hospital, shortly after Senator MCCARTHY passed away.

Prior to the Senate funeral on Monday, there will be a Mass at St. Matthew's Cathedral, where Senator MCCARTHY and Jeannie Kerr were married in 1953. After the Senate ceremonies, the body will be flown to Appleton, Wis., where the Senator will be buried in the family plot. All flags on Government buildings, including the

White House, were at half mast; messages of condolence were pouring in from all over the Nation, and even from ships at sea.

President Eisenhower issued a statement of sympathy for Mrs. McCarthy which was very carefully worded, and which avoided any expression of regret except for Mrs. McCarthy's personal loss. Other top officials, including Secretary of State Dulles and Vice President Nixon sent messages of sympathy.

Mrs. McCarthy requested that no flowers be sent, but that instead, in the case of those who would have done so, a contribution be sent to the New York Foundling Hospital, 175 East 68th Street, New York City, which is the home from which she and her husband got their black-haired, blue-eyed adopted daughter of 6 months, Tierney.

Mrs. McCarthy's mother was under a doctor's care from shock, and apparently suffered a slight heart attack last night, although doctors do not believe there is serious damage.

Moscow radio said, in reporting McCarthy's death, that he was responsible for the preparation of a new military venture by the United States. It said:

"The aims of this double-dyed reactionary are linked with such a phenomenon of American reality as McCarthyism—a fierce onslaught against the progressive forces in the working-class organizations of the United States of America, hunting down and subjecting to terrorist persecution all who oppose the domination of a handful of millionaires. McCarthyism spread throughout the country on an atmosphere of fear and anti-Communist hysteria which contributed to a more reactionary, antinational policy within the country, and to the preparation of a new military venture."

So Moscow is happy, and feels it has been rid of a dangerous enemy. That would have been a source of great satisfaction to Joe McCarthy.

* * * * *

The foundling hospital in New York indicated very strongly this afternoon, that Mrs. McCarthy will be allowed to keep little Tierney, despite the fact that the probationary adoption period is only about half over. So that hurdle seems to be cleared.

From Members of the Senate came various expressions of shock and loss, one of them, by Senator William Jenner, is perhaps typical. He said, "America has lost a fighting patriot, a courageous man who has been willing to pay the price for his convictions and for his country. I was proud that I stood by him in his fight for America."

That last comment is important, because it referred directly to the cause for Senator McCarthy's death, the Senate censure resolution, engineered and pressured through by those forces that were gripped by fear of their own pasts, and had to get rid of Senator McCarthy to save themselves.

That was what killed the junior Senator from Wisconsin. That was what preyed on him constantly, and gnawed at his heart, and broke his spirit, and I saw it happen. He didn't believe the Senate would vote censure. He found it incredible that his colleagues would do him an injustice, or subject him to a stacked committee in the censure hearings. But he failed to calculate the pressure and the money and the influence that was at work, some of it from the White House itself. One man above all others in the White House family hated Joe McCarthy. and that man was Paul G. Hoffman, the President's confidante whom he named to the United Nations, the man who wrecked the Studebaker-Packard Corp., the man who headed the foreign-aid program in its most squandering days, the man who conceived and until recently, headed the notorious Fund for the Republic.

Paul Hoffman, in his hatred, helped to pay for the lawyers who drew up the censure charges which Senator Flanders, of Vermont, lodged against Senator McCarthy, and which finally—though proven to be false—resulted in the McCarthy censure. On July 19 of last year, Senator Flanders openly admitted this fact on the floor of the United States Senate, at the time he publicly apologized to Senator McCarthy for what he had done. He said he wished the whole thing could be forgotten, but he did admit that Mr. Hoffman contributed $1,000 for the drafting of those false charges.

And it was the vote of censure, under pressure such as many Senators had never known before, growing out of those charges, that started Senator McCarthy on his long, slow death. From then on, he had no will to live. And I knew, when I heard the diagnosis of the Bethesda Naval Hospital doctors on Monday, that this was the end of the Nation's most dedicated fighter against communism and subversive activities, because his physical strength was so spent that he couldn't possibly survive any major illness.

So I hope Paul Hoffman is satisfied. But I doubt that in his project he has won much in the way of thanks or affection from the average American citizen. Joe McCarthy was too much of an American patriot, and too devoted to his country. Mr. Paul Hoffman is interested in the rest of the world, and expending our substance over the world.

There will be a note of some irony in those Senate services because that, in a sense, was the execution chamber. And thus, Monday, the Senate, which performed the execution, will honor the man it executed. In that, at least, there is ironic justice.

* * * * *

One last observation.

It is interesting, indeed, to observe today the deep silence from all those sources that screamed such indignation because a Canadian diplomat committed suicide when he was accused of Communist associations, and Harry Dexter White died of a heart attack after he had been accused, and Larry Dugan jumped out of a window in New York when some of his associates found themselves in Communist trouble.

Those screaming voices are silent when JOE McCARTHY, the enemy of communism, dies as a result of their persecutions.

MAY 6, 1957

The remains of Senator JOE McCARTHY are in Appleton, Wis., tonight, after a weekend of his Nation's and his church's highest honors, and homage from many thousands of just ordinary people who filed past his bier in a funeral home, a stone's throw from the White House.

How many there were is impossible to determine, but a guest book in which some of those who came to pay their respects signed their names showed some 5,000 signatures; many additional thousands failed to register because of the jam, and there were many groups of young people who also did not register. At times, the queue was 3 and 4 blocks long and many people stood in line for hours.

There was a rosary service at 8:30 p. m. last night, and another chapel service with family and close friends early this morning. Then, shortly before 9 a. m., the body was moved to St. Matthew's Cathedral, where the Senator married the beautiful young Jeannie Kerr in 1953, and where, this morning, about 2,000 persons were gathered.

Among those present were the Vice President and Mrs. Nixon; White House assistant I. Jack Martin, representing the President; Senate Republican Leader William Knowland, and a group of other Senators; and the Senator's two leading assistants in the famous McCARTHY investigations, Roy Cohn, and staff director Frank Carr.

Among the company that participated in the requiem Mass were 72 priests, monsignors, and bishops.

Mrs. McCarthy, in the company of her husband's brothers and sister, held up well until after Archbishop O'Boyle left the altar, and stopped momentarily to take her hand and say a few words, which were inaudible to anyone else. Then, for a moment, she bowed her head and sobbed, but she seemed to force herself under control after a fleeting moment, and resumed her composure.

After the Mass, the casket was taken—with a 48-man Marine honor guard—to the Capitol, where it was carried by Marine pallbearers up the great steps of the Senate wing, and onto the Senate floor. With its draping of flags, it was placed in front of the Vice President's rostrum. Mrs. McCarthy came into the Senate chamber momentarily, then retired to a chair that had been prepared for her, just outside the open doors, where she could hear and see what went on without being exposed to the eyes of the gallery visitors.

Admission to the galleries was strictly by card, but they were filled to capacity, except for the Senators' private gallery (which is always exempted on card occasions, as a matter of tradition). There were a handful of seats there.

The Senate services were brief and included a eulogy by the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate, and the Reverend Father William J. Awalt, who married the McCarthys in 1953.

There were 37 Republican Senators present, and 32 Democrats, many of them Senators who voted for the censure of Senator McCARTHY in December of 1954—the vote that broke his heart and spirit, and started the decline in his health which ended in death Thursday afternoon at 6:02 p. m.

Few people realize this next fact, and perhaps it becomes important only in perspective, but the resolution of censure which finally was voted in regard to Senator McCARTHY had absolutely nothing to do with the original charges which Senator Flanders, of Vermont, financed to the tune of $1,000 by Paul Hoffman, brought against the junior Senator from Wisconsin. They were all thrown in the wastebasket. The actual final censure resolution had to do with Senator McCARTHY's activities after the Army-McCarthy hearings were over—and I say this because the Senator's traducers are constantly talking about the resolution of censure by which he was condemned by his colleagues by a vote of 67 to 22 as "growing out of the Army-McCarthy hearings."

To keep the record straight, I'd like to read the exact resolution to you, and here it is:

"*Resolved,* That the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY] failed to cooperate with the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in clearing up matters referred to that subcommittee which concerned his conduct as a Senator, and affected the honor of the Senate, and, instead, repeatedly abused the subcommittee and its members who were trying to carry out assigned duties, thereby obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate, and that this conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCarthy] is contrary to senatorial traditions and is hereby condemned.

"Sec. 2. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCarthy], in writing to the chairman of the Select Committee to study censure charges [Mr. Watkins] after the Select Committee had issued its report, and before the report was presented to the Senate, charging three members of the Select Committee with 'deliberate deception' and 'fraud' or failure to disqualify themselves; in stating to the press on November 4, 1954, that the special Senate session that was to begin November 8, 1954, was a 'lynch party'; in repeatedly describing this special Senate session as a 'lynch bee' in a nationwide television and radio show on November 7, 1954, in stating to the public press on November 13, 1954, that the chairman of the Select Committee [Mr. Watkins] was guilty of 'the most unusual, most cowardly thing I've ever heard of,' and stating further: 'I expected he'd be afraid to answer the questions, but didn't think he'd be stupid enough to make a public statement' and in characterizing the said committee as 'the unwitting handmaiden,' 'involuntary agent,' and 'attorneys in fact' of the Communist Party and in charging that the said committee, in writing its report, 'imitated Communist methods—that it distorted, misrepresented, and omitted in its efforts to manufacture a plausible rationalization' in support of its recommendations to the Senate, which characterizations and charges were contained in a statement released to the press and inserted in the Congressional Record of November 10, 1954, acted contrary to senatorial ethics, intended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute, to obstruct the constitutional processes of the Senate, and to impair its dignity; and such conduct is hereby condemned."

Those were the things for which the Senator's colleagues censured him—not his conduct of the Army hearings, or any other McCarthy committee hearings; so the next time you find someone who implies otherwise, you will know better.

As for the Senators who made up this list of 67 votes in favor of the censure resolution, all Democrats who voted at all, voted in favor of it. That was a straight political party-line vote, to be expected in any such internal Republican hara-kiri performance as was going on.

The important votes for that resolution were the ones from the Republicans, and you will note as I go along that, included in this list, are all the names that Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, as high priest of the new modern Republicanism, considers to be the stalwarts of his movement.

Here they are:

Mrs. George P. Abel, of Nebraska; George Aiken, of Vermont; Glenn Beall, of Maryland; Wallace Bennett, of Utah; Prescott Bush, of Connecticut; Frank Carlson, of Kansas; Francis Case, of South Dakota; John Sherman Cooper, of Kentucky; Norris Cotton, of New Hampshire; James Duff, of Pennsylvania; Homer Ferguson, of Michigan; Ralph Flanders, of Vermont; Robert Hendrickson, of New Jersey; Irving Ives, of New York; Frederick Payne, of Maine; Charles Potter, of Michigan; Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts; Margaret Chase Smith, of Maine; Alexander Smith, of New Jersey; Edward Thye, of Minnesota; John Williams, of Delaware, and the leading figure in the prosecution—Arthur Watkins, of Utah.

Senators Homer Capehart, of Indiana, and John Bricker, of Ohio, were absent, but had their positions on the resolution announced as "nay."

Senator Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin, was absent and unannounced.

I give you that list because I've been asked in hundreds of letters to do so.

Getting back to the services today, when the Senate ceremonies were over, the casket was taken to National Airport, where a MATS plane was waiting to transport it and the family party to Appleton for the final service and gravesite ceremonies there. The entire McCarthy office staff, to the last person, made the trip to Appleton, and friends provided private planes to make it possible. Some members of the staff were on the verge of hysteria, others were suffering from shock. Most of them were in as bad shape as Mrs. McCarthy herself. I know of no individual, in any line of endeavor who was held in higher affection by those who worked with him day by day, than Senator McCarthy.

So ends the drama that was Joe McCarthy. His enemies still attempt to malign him, and will do so for a long time to come. They have reason to do so, because Senator McCarthy, in death, may well be even more powerful as a force than Senator McCarthy could ever have been in life.

The death sharpens the focus of public sentiment and public thinking on the real issues that he represented, and the true facts of the McCarthy controversy. For one thing, it leaves to calm public appraisal the question of why Paul Hoffman wanted to destroy him, and why the other forces who worked so feverishly for the same destruction, considered it so important, and whether those grounds for censure, which I just read you, were really justification for the almost unprecedented Senate action of censure, and if they were not justification, why and how the Senate was pressurized into adopting that censure resolution, and who was behind it.

Any one of the Senators whose names I read you will tell you that the pressure was terrific, and most of them will tell you that they wish they had never cast the vote as they did. And what, pray, is the answer to that?

Somebody—some forces—had to get rid of Senator JOE McCARTHY, and they did it.

MAY 7, 1957

Senator JOE McCARTHY, of Wisconsin, probably the most controversial political figure of modern times, so far as the United States is concerned, was laid to final rest besides his Irish-born mother and father today, in the cemetery of 98-year-old St. Mary's Catholic Church in Appleton, Wis., which he has attended since he was a small boy.

Some 30,000 of his fellow Wisconsinites, coming from near and far, filed through the church late yesterday afternoon and last night, to pass by the open casket and pay their final respects.

The Reverend Adam M. Grill, pastor of St. Mary's, said in his remarks that Senator McCARTHY did not die of disease alone, but principally because he exhausted himself physically for love of his fellow beings. He said:

"Even more threatening than the atom and hydrogen bombs is the common enemy of all democracy and God-fearing people—communism.

"Of all the great men in our country, no one recognized this more completely than Senator McCARTHY."

Here in Washington, the Senate post office was struggling with the most prodigious volume of mail ever to flood the office of any one Senator at any time. One report was that 70 mailbags full had been delivered to the McCarthy office this morning, and another large load this afternoon.

The only person in the offices this afternoon was the social secretary of a close friend of Jeannie McCarthy, Mrs. Garvin Tankersley, and she said she had no idea how many there were because she had made no attempt to count them, but that they were stacked everywhere, to the extent that it was almost impossible to move around.

Most of it seems to be condolence mail for Mrs. McCarthy, expressions of sympathy, and so forth. Mrs. McCarthy's mother, Mrs. Kerr, is very much improved from the heart attack she suffered when she learned of the Senator's death last Thursday night, although she still is under a doctor's care.

The Herbert Hoover Memorial Library, in Palo Alto, Calif., which has probably the greatest collection of papers of famous statesmen and public figures in the world, has expressed an interest in getting the McCarthy papers, under whatever terms and conditions Mrs. McCarthy wants to prescribe, which itself is considerable of an accolade to the late Senator. This is very exclusive company, the Hoover Library, and the mere expression of interest is, in itself, a very high honor.

The tentative schedule as things stand at present is for Mrs. McCarthy to return to Washington tomorrow and leave to others the problems of her husband's affairs there in Appleton, although at the time she left here, that had not been finally decided.

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Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Valiant Warrior," which was published in the New York Journal-American of May 3, 1957, be printed in the Record.

VALIANT WARRIOR

In the death of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY the forces of freedom in the United States have lost a fierce and valiant fighter.

He was a saber-slashing warrior. Riding the steed of dedication he sounded the alarm and pressed the battle against Communists, fellow travelers, and anti-anti-Communists wherever it led.

Neither prestige nor influence deterred JOE MCCARTHY, neither slander nor scorn swerved him. Where he saw his duty, he did not parry; he charged.

In this era no other man was more admired or more vilified. There were times when his saber swings were misdirected. But these few occasions were inevitable in a nature so intensely committed to the anti-Communist cause, and to a man of his burning patriotism.

His enemies coined the word "McCarthyism"—straight out of the Communist propaganda machine—as a brand name of disrepute. JOE MCCARTHY seized it and turned it against them.

His enemies sought to pervert and disgrace his motives. The warrior from Wisconsin had only one motive and he never deviated from it.

It was to smash the Communist conspiracy.

We on this newspaper have lost a friend. His country has lost a champion of liberty.

He served it well.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Senate Must Act On JOE," written by George Rothwell Brown, be printed in the Record.

SENATE MUST ACT ON JOE

(By George Rothwell Brown)

WASHINGTON.—The United States Senate, solemnly assembled to pay honor in death to the man it so malignantly slandered 3 short years ago, must now more calmly face the obligation to itself under which it rests of undoing the wrong it did to JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, by expunging from its journal the resolution of condemnation it adopted in a wave of blind hysteria in 1954.

There is, in the history of the Senate itself, a shining precedent for such contrition.

The Senate may rest assured, moreover, that the friends of JOE McCARTHY, the lovers of their country, and the enemies of communism, will never rest until this act of justice has been taken, this wrong has been righted.

McCARTHY was "condemned"—not "censured" as had been the original intention of the Watkins committee which "tried" him—on two counts, neither of which went to the heart of the real issue in the controversy.

That issue was the Communist conspiracy against the United States, but that wasn't mentioned.

The vote of condemnation, 67 to 22, has left the Senate in an absurd position.

For here was the Senate, then as now, pouring out billions of American tax money to combat world communism everywhere on earth, while at the same time repudiating the Senator who, above all others in Congress, had done most to expose to the people the Red peril which menaced the Nation.

The methods McCARTHY had used as chairman of an investigating committee had brought down upon him a storm of opprobrium from every skulking Communist in the country, from every fellow traveler, from every crackpot and nitwit, and every left-wing columnist in Washington.

But McCARTHY was not fighting an honorable antagonist. He was encountering a rattlesnake, which defied the committee, defied the Congress, defied the flag. He hit the vicious reptile with everything he had.

A parade of contemptuous witnesses before the committee took the fifth amendment. Some even sunk so low they refused to say whether, in the event of war between the United States and Soviet

Russia, they would fight for their own country, on the ground that their answer might tend to incriminate them.

This committee is not the only Senate committee to encounter the fifth-amendment pleader. Senator McClellan, of Arkansas, who once in a huff resigned from the McCarthy committee, is now having fifth-amendment troubles of his own as chairman of another investigating committee, and some of his comments to recalcitrant witnesses has been as bitter and stinging as any Joe ever made.

It is a crying pity that a majority of the Senate should have succumbed to the organized propaganda of the leftwing hatemongers who were out to get McCarthy—and who have now, to their shame, finally got him.

The precedent for expunging a Senate resolution adopted in hatred and anger is historic.

In 1833, during the memorable battle over the United States Bank, the Senate censured President Jackson for removing the Secretary of the Treasury and appointing another in his place, as an unconstitutional act.

Four years later Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, on January 16, 1837, offered a resolution to expunge that resolution from the manuscript of the Senate's Journal, and 4 days later, after a stormy debate, it was adopted.

Solemnly the Secretary of the Senate advanced to the rostrum, took up the Journal, drew a black line around the resolution of censure, and wrote beneath it: "Expunged by order of the Senate."

The day will surely come when McCarthy's name shall be cleared in the same honorable way. It is too late to make amends to Joe. But there is time for the Senate to rehabilitate itself in its own and the public's esteem.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article entitled "Joe's Only Interest Was His Country," written by George E. Sokolsky, be printed in the Record.

Joe's Only Interest Was His Country

(By George E. Sokolsky)

Much has been written and said about Senator Joe McCarthy during the past several days while he lay dying and when he finally went to his Maker.

I knew Joe intimately and favorably. No matter how men may differ about him, I always knew that Joe McCarthy had no interest other than the welfare of his country. He firmly believed that all Communists had to be traitors and he set out to find them. He was successful in some measure, but he also suffered from a sense of failure because he knew that agencies of government and high officials protected men and women whom they should have despised. He sought for motives and often reached the conclusion that many men were fearful that their own mistakes would be exposed; he felt that fear and vanity rather than ideological positions played a great part in determining men's attitudes toward him and his work.

We often discussed the brutal force of the opposition to him and this he never understood, because he could not believe that some of his opponents wanted to protect Communists. He never understood the Army fight upon him because he held that it was the Army's first duty to protect this country from Communists and traitors.

FIRSTHAND KNOWLEDGE

I was present at the notorious luncheon in New York when McCARTHY, Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens, and his counsel, John Adams, lunched and drank and cavorted throughout an afternoon. What came out at the McCarthy-Army hearings was never the whole story nor had the various versions of the Cohn-Schine episodes anything to do with the situation at all. And I can say, from firsthand knowledge, that Bob Stevens had little or nothing to do with the effort to destroy McCARTHY.

This was a political maneuver to eliminate McCARTHY'S importance, to kill his influence as an American citizen, to make his name abhorrent, and to frighten off any Senator, journalist, or radio commentator who chose to support him or his cause. So far as JOE McCARTHY was concerned, the maneuver succeeded to a startling degree.

Those who engaged in it—and their names came out during the hearings—knew JOE'S characteristics; they knew that he was gentle and aggressive; rough in the fight and forgiving immediately afterward; humble in his heart but giving the impression of cantankerousness. They also knew that, while he appeared to be hale and even physically powerful, he was not a strong man, suffering physical pain, sometimes so much pain that he had to give way to it.

They knew all his weaknesses, for some of them had, since he came to the Senate, acted as though they were his close personal friends. They left him bitter, disillusioned, hurt. He was hounded to death by those who would not forget and could not forgive. He was a lonely man among his associates and he often wondered who were his friends.

BELIEVED HE WOULD WIN

He and Jeannie adopted a little girl and that brought Joe a happiness which he had not ever known before. There can be no question that he regarded the 1958 election as a problem because he realized the forces that would be pitted against him. He believed that he would ultimately win that election and he said that he did not fear his opponent, Walter Kohler, but there can be no question that he recognized that he would have to take on the entire Eisenhower administration, the Modern Republicans, the Committee for an Effective Congress, the money that would be raised against him in New York by the mysterious Arthur Goldsmith, the Communists, their fellow travelers and dupes. It meant a fight—a terrific fight and his health was ebbing away.

It is often said that you can only really know a man if you live with him. I did not live with Joe under one roof, but there were times when we saw much of each other and when I was intimately concerned with his effort to drive the Communists from American life. As an American, as a Jew, as an anti-Communist, I can proudly say that Joe McCarthy was my friend and that I have never encountered an opponent of his who equalled him in patriotism and courage. God bless his soul and forgive those who sent him to his death.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "Freedom's Watchman," published in the Longview (Tex.) Daily News of May 7, 1957, be printed in the Record.

FREEDOM'S WATCHMAN

The Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy, United States Senator from Wisconsin—a fearless watchman on the ramparts of freedom—has passed to his reward. In death, as in his busy life, he was the target of attacks and slights from both private and public figures, for there are many who seek to wreck and destroy as well as the few who strive to strengthen and secure the citadel of human freedom.

Methodist clergymen and Senate chaplain Dr. Frederick Brown Harris spoke literally for the pages of history Monday when in solemn Senate services he declared: "This fallen warrior through death speaketh, calling a nation of free men to be delivered from the complacency of a false security and from regarding those who loudly sound the trumpet of vigilance and alarm as mere disturbers of the peace."

In similar eulogy at a high pontifical funeral Mass, Msgr. John J. Cartwright spoke for the records of time when he said of Senator McCarthy and his anti-Communist role: "No greater service could have been rendered by this watchman of the citadel who insisted upon a clear understanding by our people of the nature of this enemy and of its power not only to attack but to undermine our institutions of freedom."

Senator McCarthy leaves bright pages in the undying history of freemen. In the critical postwar period after he returned from service in the Pacific, he became America's No. 1 Communist-hunter and exposer of spies and pinkos in Government, in the armed services, and in defense plants. The vigor of this vital service to the Nation aroused criticism and opposition that extended into the highest circles of officialdom. One of the sorriest pages ever written into the record was his snub by the White House, for it in effect gave aid and comfort to Joe Stalin and his ilk. We were sorry to see evidence that the old palace guard such as Hoffman and company still holds sway, for the White House had only an aide among the mourners.

While Senator McCarthy stood on the ramparts of freedom, there stood with him to plug the dikes against communism such stalwart patriots as the Mundts, Malones, Martins, Dirksens, Butlers, Magnusons, and Knowlands. But while these and a few others like them stood guard at the gates, the attack was being waged behind the scenes or openly by such as the Flanders-Tydings-Eleanor Roosevelt-Anna Rosenberg-Marshall-Acheson-Truman crowd and others of their kind. There will be less record in the pages of history for most of them.

One would have only to go into the hills of Wisconsin today to find out what the people there thought of Senator McCarthy who boldly and fearlessly battled the enemies without as well as the sympathizers within. He had the ability to recognize their stripes for the rattlesnakes they were, regardless of the cloak they sported. We confidently expect Senator Wiley, who thinks it "too early" to tell what McCarthy's place in history will be, will get the word from the folks back home on his next visit.

We had the keen personal pleasure to have known and worked with Joe McCarthy. While the writer is not a Catholic (and right here may we observe that many of his enemies were old "He Ku-Kluxers" who hated him on account of his religion) but a Protestant, we were happy to fight along with him under the same flag, for Senator McCarthy's flag was the Stars and Stripes and he never grew tired of holding it aloft to encourage free men everywhere. It was no hammer and sickle for him, and no waving of the pink bunting of sympathy for the Reds or their helpers.

As for unexpressed fears of Senator Mike Mansfield, of Montana, who said he hoped the difficulties which beset McCarthy on earth "will not be there to face him when he goes to meet his maker," we can reassure you, Senator Mansfield; the forces of communism are the forces of anti-God and they will not be inside the gates when this gallant warrior is received. And as for the Communists, their agents, their sympathizers, and the pinkos, we predict the 400-page Alger Hiss book published Monday—nor even 4,000 pages by such as Hiss, or the Julius Rosenbergs or the Martin Sobels or the David Greenglasses and their kind—will be to no avail in covering up the dirty trails they have spread across the face of America.

As it was with Gen. Robert E. Lee, Senator McCarthy can "pass over the river and rest under the shade of the trees"—for the battle for free men is now behind him and he can rest among friends. The forces of anti-God will not be around in heaven to bark and bite. Joe is now comfortably bivouacked with his good marine buddies who earlier fell in defense of their country at Iwo Jima, Peleliu, Saipan, Tinian, Okinawa, and elsewhere.

We salute in admiring memory the Joseph McCarthy whom we knew—a true mid-20th century embodiment of Patrick Henry and Paul Revere of old and as bold a patriot and stanch a fighter for freedom and country as America has ever produced. Goodbye, Joe; may your spirit rest in peace as your name will be preserved in honor.

Carl L. Estes.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous permission to have inserted in the Record a column by John O'Donnell, special writer on the New York News, as a part of my remarks.

Capitol Stuff

(By John O'Donnell)

Washington, May 5—"Judica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sancta;

"Ab homine iniquo et doloso erue me."

Thus the opening invocation of the centuries-old liturgy for the dead, which will be intoned over the remains of Wisconsin's Senator Joseph R. McCarthy in St. Matthew's Cathedral by Washington's Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle at the beginning of the solemn requiem Mass tomorrow morning.

"Give judgment for me, O God, and decide my cause against an unholy people.

"From unjust and deceitful men deliver me."

When the Mass is over and the funeral oration has been delivered, the archbishop will utter the same Latin prayer said over every Catholic buried:

"O God, whose nature is always to have mercy and to spare, we humbly beseech you for the soul of Thy servant, JOSEPH McCARTHY * * * that Thou wouldst not deliver him into the hands of the enemy, nor forget him forever."

And so ends, so far as national politics is concerned, 5 furious years of the Wisconsin Senator's turbulent warfare against communism in our National Government. His followers will remain loyal; his enemies embittered; the cowards and weaklings as usual talk out of both sides of their mouths, and the sanctimonious hypocrites will piously roll their eyes and murmur something about "de mortuis, nihil nisi bonum."

It will certainly be 25 years, probably a half century, before the American people will be able to get an honest count on the McCARTHY Senate war against communism. Certainly, there will come out earlier the complete story of the bleeding-heart columnists at a swanky dinner party in Georgetown who gaily pledged that they would put the epithet McCarthyism in the dictionaries as a dirty word.

It will take more time to pluck out the reasons for this panicky joy—how many of these, back in the thirties were uncomfortably close to communism or were actually card-carrying members, or had relatives or persons who later became their husbands or wives who had been card-carrying Commies and now wanted to silence the mouth that might reveal all this.

How long will it take to get the full minutes of the White House conference where it was plotted to frame McCARTHY on the Major Peress promotion issue? We figure years and years. And what diaries and post mortem records do we have to wait for until the American people get the details on the White House pressure (and the pressure of Commies and frightened New Deal pinkos) to put across the Senate censure resolution only 2½ years ago?

WHO PROMOTED PERESS?

Quite a number of distinguished members of the Government must die before that story can be safely released. And by the way, Who promoted Peress?

And on the issue of personal relations, what addle-pated professor of protocol in the White House sent out that message of condolence an hour after McCarthy's death to his widow, forgetting that she, alone of all the Senate wives, had been deliberately snubbed by Mrs. Eisenhower a few weeks after her husband had been pointedly ignored by the President?

Both McCarthy and later his wife were dropped—and the White House made a point of announcing it—from strictly formal and utterly impersonal White House functions paid for by taxpayers.

This was bad manners in public. But to send, hard on the heels of this evidence of dislike, expressions of sympathy to a grieving widow was an example of callous boorishness not seen in the White House in living memory. It's inconceivable that the President or Mrs. Eisenhower could be guilty of such rudeness. But just the same, it happened, the most sour note in this performance.

COLLEAGUES RELIEVED BY DEATH

Commenting on a McCarthy characteristic—his uncanny ability to bring out the worst of both friend and foe—the sagacious Chicago News correspondent Edwin A. Lahey put a significant finger on one aspect of the ceremonies in the Capitol when he spoke of "the pious hypocrisy of McCarthy's senatorial colleagues who breathed a sigh of relief when the death bulletin was flashed out of Bethesda Naval Hospital."

Aside from the personal tragedy of McCarthy—death at 48 for a man who for 5 years was the national symbol of unrelenting war against Communist-tainted Americans is a real tragedy—his departure from the political scene leaves an unclear picture of the future.

There will be a special election in Wisconsin to select a new Senator. McCarthy's successor will in all probability be a Republican. What it does mean is that the anti-Eisenhower Republicans have lost a onetime powerful warrior but one who, because of failing health for at least a year, and the studied campaign of silence imposed by the propinko Capitol reporters and press, had been drained of his political power.

McCarthy belonged to the Senate group of old-line Taft Republicans, the group which still holds Senate GOP control and can defeat the so-called Eisenhower modern Republicans on any rollcall. But he was closely identified with the smaller, tough, diehard anti-White House, anti-Dulles, anti-Red, and anti-Reds disguised as New-Deal Socialists and one-worlders. This group included such Senators as Jenner, of Indiana, Dworshak, of Idaho, Malone, of Nevada, Revercomb, of West Virginia, and others whose sentiments are summed up by Idaho's former Senator Welker, who delivered the choking tribute:

"That fighting Irish marine would give the shirt off his back to anyone who needs it—except a dirty, lying, stinking Communist. That guy he'd kill."

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial entitled "The McCarthy Heritage," published on May 6, 1957, in Senator McCARTHY's hometown newspaper, the Appleton Post-Crescent, be printed in the Record.

THE McCARTHY HERITAGE

It is always difficult to assess the career of a famous man when the impact of his personality still strongly influences our thinking. Twelve years after the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, for example, attempts to evaluate his accomplishments still spark heated debate. Without question, the same will apply for many years to discussion of the career of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY.

Yet we believe there exists ground on which both those who loved JOE McCARTHY, and most of those who hated him, can meet and find agreement about the real meaning of his career. In order to find this ground it is necessary to delve beyond his fascinating and distracting personality. True, it may be as difficult to do this now as it was when he was alive; it was the force of his extraordinary personality during his lifetime that caused many people to lose sight of what he was trying to do or at least thought he was trying to do, that obscured the real issues between him and his opponents, that caused otherwise intelligent people to forget the fundamental problems of the day and concentrate instead on extreme laudation or extreme villification of McCARTHY the man or McCARTHY the symbol. Indeed, it often seemed that McCARTHY's personality encroached so much upon current debate as to defeat the very ends McCARTHY was trying to reach.

In order to truly assess the meaning of McCARTHY and what undoubtedly will come to be called the McCARTHY era, it is necessary to rid ourselves so far as is possible of the influence of his personality and ask some fundamental questions. Why did McCARTHY suddenly become so famous? Why did his charges about Communist infiltration cause such a tremendous uproar? Why did the people, not only in this country but abroad, become so excited about these charges, develop such passion regarding them?

The answer, we believe, is to be found in the state of the American mind in that fall of 1950 when McCARTHY suddenly began making his charges that Communists had infiltrated the agencies of our Government. There was nothing really so extraordinary about these charges, nor were they new. Others had made them before, often in language more extreme than that McCarthy employed. It was, rather, a matter of timing—McCarthy's accusations broke upon the American public at a time when it was just beginning to realize the true nature of the Communist conspiracy, when the complete perfidy and ruthlessness of Communists everywhere was becoming apparent to free men, when the terrible danger under which we had been living for years was beginning to dawn on the public consciousness. The fog in which we had been living during the period of tragic self-delusion regarding world communism had lifted, and while the people were by no means unanimous on what should be done, they were extremely worried, excitable, upset; they were ready to hang on the words of anyone who discussed the problem with any show of honesty and fearlessness.

The truly important thing that took place during this "McCarthy era," therefore, is that the American people finally realized the true nature of that terrible conspiracy for world conquest that is miscalled communism. There are those who will say that McCarthy brought this realization about or at least helped mightily in giving it life; others of course will insist that it was something that was happening anyway and that McCarthy actually delayed its fruition by distracting and exciting the people. But that argument is really not important; what is important is the fact that today Americans in all walks of life—Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, workers, farmers, businessmen, students, housewives, intellectuals, and all the rest—are at last fully aware of the need to fight the Red conspiracy every day, everywhere, on every level of government, in foreign policy, in domestic agencies, in our private organizations and in our daily lives.

Even if the most extreme assertions of McCarthy's enemies were to be accepted—that his methods were outrageous, that he recklessly ruined individual reputations and even endangered freedom itself with the fervency of his onslaught—the fact remains that now that he is gone communism must still be fought, and that it is the duty of the Congress of the United States to protect the Nation from the weevils that would infest our institutions and eat away at them until they are brought tumbling down from within. This newspaper is among those who believe that there are those who can do the job better than McCarthy did, that there are methods much better than his for doing it. But the fact remains that the job must still be done, and that if it is not done history might yet come to regard McCarthy as the last sentinel to shout vain warnings from the battlements of freedom.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, it is the personal opinion of the senior Senator from Nevada that the work of Senator McCarthy will gain greater recognition as time goes on.

Mr. President, the record is clear throughout history that the limiting and curtailment of the investigative power of the legislative body is the first move of potential dictators. This record should not be allowed to stand.

It could well be that the late junior Senator from Wisconsin will be greater in death than in life, as has been the case so many times in the history of this Nation.

Mr. President, this statement would not be complete without the mention of one of the greatest young women whom it has been my privilege to know—Jean McCarthy. She is one of the most loyal and devoted women I have ever known. She was outstanding in her devotion to her late husband and to his work.

Remarks by Senator Martin

Of Pennsylvania

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the Bristol Township Republican Club, of Bristol, Pa., composed of stalwart, old-fashioned American Quakers, adopted a resolution relative to our late colleague, Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution may be printed in the Record.

Whereas the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY from Wisconsin devoted his life to his God and to his country; and

Whereas the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, under severe pressure, harassment, and unjust persecution, fought the Communist Party and the Communist infiltration in our Government and in our great country; and

Whereas the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY was slandered, ridiculed, and falsely accused because, being a good American, he courageously attempted to save our American heritage and strengthen our national security; and

Whereas the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY became a "martyr without blood" for the cause of exposing Communist activities in our Government and the apathy toward those activities by many high-ranking Government officials; and

Whereas the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY was a brave and loyal American and a devoted public servant: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Bristol Township Republican Club of the County of Bucks in the State of Pennsylvania, honor the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY and sincerely regret his passing from the American scene; be it

Resolved, That his memory and his unselfish crusade and worthwhile accomplishments be always in our hearts.

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief of Hearst newspapers, published an editorial in all Hearst newspapers on Sunday, May 5, 1957, concerning our late colleague, Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY of Wisconsin. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Record.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr., editor in chief, Hearst newspapers)

The sudden and untimely death of Senator JOE McCARTHY late this past week came as shocking and saddening news to his millions of friends and rooters.

I first met JOE in Washington in 1947. At the time, he was a newly elected, handsome, jovial young Senator from Wisconsin and we hit it off right from the start.

In addition to our proximity in age, views on politics and opinion of communism, we held similar views concerning the beauty and attractiveness of a young newspaper columnist on the Washington Times-Herald, named Austine.

When Austine and I were married a year later, among our wedding presents we received a little silver children's cup engraved "To William Randolph Hearst III, from Uncle JOE McCARTHY." He was right about his hunch on that and he was right about his hunch that there was Communist influence in high places in our Government.

JOE did not have positive proof that many of those he suspected were actual card-holding Communists. Such proof is almost impossible for one man to obtain. There was no secret about it, nor on the other hand any cause for disparagement, although his enemies tried to make a big issue out of it.

A grand jury does not have positive proof, either, when it returns an indictment. It does have what it considers sufficient evidence. That was the same basis on which JOE proceeded. He was convinced that once the fight was joined further evidence would accumulate to substantiate him.

The Senate appointed a committee to investigate his charges of communism in the State Department, headed by Senator Millard Tydings, of Maryland, but the goal of the committee seemed to such a degree to be a whitewash of the State Department and to ridicule JOE's charges, that the good people of our country overwhelmingly felt that JOE was probably right and that he had not gotten a fair shake.

The proof of this was demonstrated when Senator Tydings, an able veteran, was defeated at the polls when he next ran.

JOE was a dedicated and indefatigable worker, with experience in law, having been a judge. It is not my purpose here to review the history of these years, but from firsthand knowledge and close acquaintance with him, I can truthfully say the charge of demagogery against him is completely unfounded. Overzealousness, perhaps. Recklessness in some of his charges and conclusions, perhaps. But demagogery, no.

He was utterly convinced that his country was being betrayed by people with communistic feelings, and he was determined to expose to the American public the facts he knew and expected to prove.

I have never seen anybody work as hard in an office as JOE MCCARTHY. He sensed from the start that he had taken on a formidable task and that many opposed to him were not only out to get him personally, but in doing so to ridicule the justice of his cause.

At his side through it all worked one of his secretaries, tall, brunet, bright, and beautiful Jean Kerr. She had joined his staff in 1950, after attending Georgetown University for 2 years and then graduating 2 years later from Northwestern University. He was, of course, conscious of her help and beauty, so it was not a surprise in the fall of 1953 when they were married.

Her belief and faith in him never wavered. Unquestionably she made possible his philosophical acceptance of the inner hurt caused him by the subsequent rejection of his cause by the majority of his party and his President.

JOE's life on this earth is finished, but the job he set out to do has been done better, I think, than even he realized.

Remarks by Senator Mundt

Of South Dakota

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, at the Appleton, Wis., funeral services of the late Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY, Father Adam Grill, of St. Mary's Catholic Church—JOE's home church in Appleton—delivered a most moving and appropriate funeral sermon which so impressed the Senators and Representatives attending the services that he was asked to send us a copy to be incorporated in the Congressional Record.

I ask unanimous consent, accordingly, Mr. President, to have printed in the Record this fitting tribute to our late colleague by the priest who ministered to JOE throughout his all too abbreviated lifetime.

SERMON OF FATHER ADAM GRILL AT FUNERAL SERVICES OF SENATOR JOE MCCARTHY, ST. MARY'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, APPLETON, WIS., MAY 7, 1957

Mrs. McCarthy, relatives of Senator MCCARTHY, distinguished visitors, friends of Senator MCCARTHY, first of all we wish to express to Mrs. McCarthy and relatives the sympathy and condolences of our Most Reverend Bishop Bona, and Bishop Grellinger, our auxiliary bishop, and many priests of our diocese. Bishop Bona called personally to be sure that we would express his regrets that he cannot be here for this occasion. He is celebrating the 25th anniversary of his consecration as a bishop in his cathedral in Green Bay today. The reverend assistant priests of St. Mary's as well as myself, and Sisters of St. Mary's, and all the members of the parish join with our bishop in expressing our sympathy.

Before us we see the flag-draped casket of the junior Senator of Wisconsin. May Almighty God be good to him. If our God would allow him this morning to use his lifeless arms, Senator MCCARTHY would point out to all of us two objects in this church as an expression of his whole life. He would first point to the altar, and secondly to the flag that drapes his casket, and why would he do this? Because they contain the epitome of his life. Senator MCCARTHY was a dedicated man. I have known him during all of his public life. When he took upon himself a task he gave his whole heart and soul to a successful completion of his work. He loved his God, and he loved his country. To him the people of Wisconsin imposed the obligation of working for the good of the people of the United States of America, and for the people of the State of Wisconsin. He dedicated himself to this work.

We have many dedicated men in the branches of the Government. God's church is under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and is infallible through this direction. The guidance of our beloved land is under the guidance of human beings and as human beings we are all fallible. People expect that the honorable men directing our Government are infallible, which is far from the truth. Mistakes therefore can be made, and are made. Instead of criticizing them we should get down on our knees every day and pray God to direct them and to guide them. They need this help. Pray; don't condemn.

We have the most beautiful land in the world, the most blessed one. The hungry eyes of the dogs of envy, jealously, and hatred of our enemies are directed toward us. There are enemies from within and from without. In our humble opinion even more threatening than the atom and hydrogen bombs is the common enemy of all democracy and God-fearing people—communism. Of all the great men in our country, no one recognized this more completely than Senator McCarthy.

The hydrogen bombs and the atom bombs our Armed Forces can take care of. It is the boring from within that comes under the executive and legislative bodies' authority in our country. Senator McCarthy was like a man of old who saw this danger to his country, and, clothed in the shining armor of zeal and love, and holding within his hands the sword of truth, he went forward into the battle with the cry on his lips, "For God and for my country." His fight is now history, and history will evaluate it. But if the torch dropped by his dying hands is not plucked up and again held aloft, then God help our beloved land. Woe upon those who do not make our country safe for Tierney McCarthy and the million other children like her.

Senator McCarthy was indeed fortunate to continually have at his side in these last few years his devoted and capable wife and his loyal staff. We hope they will never let his memory die.

We are happy to have had personally a share in the shaping of the religious life of our beloved Senator. As a youth he came to St. Mary's to receive instructions in the doctrines and practices of his faith. We are proud of the fact that he was proud of his faith. I know this personally because he practiced his faith zealously and to the dying moments of his life. Mrs. McCarthy informs me that in the days that she worked in the office of Senator McCarthy frequently he would ask her to take a little walk, and as they walked along the streets of Washington they would pass a Catholic church. Senator McCarthy would go into the church and spend 10 minutes or so in silent prayer, and then would come out and they would proceed with their walk.

To be a Christian our Lord told us that we must practice the beautiful virtue of charity. Next to the love of God one must love his neighbor. Christianity without charity is void. Senator McCarthy loved his neighbors; he loved his country; he loved his State; he loved his native city of Appleton; he loved St. Mary's. One of his greatest loves was for the young, and for them he fought.

Our obligation before God is to love Him. Love is expressed perfectly by action. Greater love than this no man hath than to lay down his life for his friends. Senator McCarthy died not because of disease only, but principally because he exhausted himself physically for love of his fellow beings.

If you loved him, manifest this by remembering him in your prayers. No man is perfect. Senator McCarthy had faults, and I am sure he would be the first to admit this. Pray God to forgive him. Pray God daily that he has met a merciful divine judge. Pray for him. Pray for him as we have just done in the holy sacrifice of the Mass.

We are proud of the fact that the Senator wanted to come home to Appleton, to St. Mary's, for his last resting place. I am sure that his great spirit will like the resting place of his body, overlooking the beautiful Fox River. May we here in Appleton never forget him.

We will close with the words of St. Ambrose: "We have loved him in life; let us not forget him in death."

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, on Wednesday, May 29, the Committee on Government Operations held its first meeting since the passing of our late colleague, Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin. On behalf of the chairman of the committee [Mr. McClellan] and as the ranking Republican member of the committee, I should like to read into the Record the memorial resolution adopted by the committee:

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Whereas the late junior Senator from Wisconsin, the Honorable Joseph R. McCarthy, served with distinction as a member of this committee for a period of more than 10 years, 2 of which he served as chairman; and

Whereas during the entire period of his service in the Senate he was a member of this committee and participated actively in its deliberations and activities, and contributed much to its legislative accomplishments, particularly with reference to the improvement of budgeting, accounting and financial reporting, in the development of better procurement, property and records management procedures, the disposal of surplus Federal property, and in effecting reorganizations of the executive branch of the Government; and

Whereas for 2 years he served as the chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of this committee, during which time he conducted a most aggressive and courageous fight against communism, striving constantly to awaken the American people to the threat of the international Communist conspiracy to our Government and the institutions upon which it was founded: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Committee on Government Operations has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret of the death of the Honorable JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, late junior Senator from the State of Wisconsin; and directs its clerk to transmit a copy of this resolution to his wife, Mrs. Jean McCarthy, to his daughter, Tierney Elizabeth, and to other members of the family of the deceased.

Remarks by Senator Saltonstall

Of Massachusetts

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, the Republican conference of the Senate on May 8, 1957, unanimously adopted a resolution expressing the sense of loss on the part of the members of that conferenece at the passing of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY.

On May 11, 1957, the college caucus of the Massachusetts Council of Young Republican Clubs unanimously adopted a resolution of a similar nature with respect to the death of Senator McCARTHY.

I ask unanimous consent that these two resolutions be printed in the Record, so that we will have a permanent record of the adoption of these sentiments concerning our departed colleague.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

Senator Leverett Saltonstall offered the following resolution in a combined meeting of the Republican minority conference and policy committee on Wednesday, May 8, 1957, which was adopted by unanimous action:

"Whereas Almighty God in His infinite wisdom has taken from us our beloved colleague, the Honorable JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY, late junior Senator from the State of Wisconsin; and

"Whereas while he was in the United States Senate he rendered to our Nation and to his State a most distinguished service; and

"Whereas he was our affectionate friend and our esteemed colleague, ever ready to give of himself, of his efforts, and of his judgment; Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That we, the Republican colleagues in the United States Senate of the Honorable JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY, express our sense of loss at his passing; and further

"*Resolved,* That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Jean K. McCarthy, that she may be assured of our deep respect for her and of our condolences to her upon the passing of our friend, her husband."

Attest:

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
Chairman of the Conference.
STYLES BRIDGES,
Chairman of the Policy Committee.

MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL OF YOUNG REPUBLICAN CLUBS, BOSTON, MASS.

Be it resolved, That the college caucus of the Massachusetts Council of Young Republican Clubs does hereby express profound grief and sorrow at the passing of a great American and a distinguished Member of the Senate of the United States, JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

Adopted unanimously this 11th day of May 1957.

RICHARD MASTRANGELO,
Vice Chairman.
SUZETTE DAUCH,
Vice Chairman.
NORMAN WILLIAM SMITH, Jr.,
College Organizer

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

Remarks by Senator Wiley

Of Wisconsin

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, this morning I received from Lawrence R. Larsen, chief clerk of the Senate of the State of Wisconsin, the text of Senate Joint Resolution 84, which was recently adopted by the Wisconsin State Legislature.

This joint resolution expresses the condolences of the assembled legislators of Wisconsin to the family and friends of my late colleague, the late junior Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy.

The joint resolution sets forth facts in the career of my colleague.

I know this joint resolution will be of interest to my associates, and I ask that it be printed in the Record.

Senate Joint Resolution 84

A joint resolution relating to the life and public service of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

The citizens of Wisconsin are shocked and grieved to learn of the untimely passing of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland on May 2, 1957. Few people sensed the seriousness of the Senator's last illness.

Senator McCarthy was born November 14, 1908, at Grand Chute, Wis. He received his early education in the Underhill Elementary School of his home community, the name of which school was recently changed to McCarthy School in honor of the Senator. While an elementary school student he conducted a poultry business on the farm of his father, Timothy. This farm the Senator recently purchased. In 1929 he enrolled in the Manawa High School where he completed the prescribed 4-year course in a single year, graduating in 1930. In addition to his high school work, he owned and managed a country grocery store. In 1930 after his graduation he started a similar store in Shiocton.

In the fall of 1930 he enrolled in the engineering school at Marquette University, but 2 years later he transferred to the law department, and in 1935 completed the prescribed 6-year course in 5 years. While attending Marquette he was completely self-sufficient, paying his own way by working as a boxing coach and operating a filling station at night. Six hours after his graduation from Marquette he had opened a law office, in Waupaca.

In 1936 he became associated with the law office of Michael Eberlein, a prominent Shawano attorney, which association lasted about 3 years.

Senator McCarthy's political career which was to occupy the rest of his life began in 1936 when he became president of the seventh district Young Democratic Club and ran unsuccessfully for the office of district attorney in Shawano County.

In 1939 the Senator entered the race for circuit judge of the 10th circuit and won a 3-cornered race. In 1945 he was reelected to the bench without opposition.

Meanwhile, early in 1942, he received a commission in the Marine Corps and served in the Pacific theater until December 1944 when he returned to the political arena. During his tour of duty he was granted leave of absence to run against the incumbent Senator, Alexander Wiley in the Republican primary of 1944, but he was defeated.

Following his military career he began his campaign for the Senate seat of Robert M. La Follette whom he defeated in the primary of 1946 by a very close margin. The Senator's campaign which occupied more than a year was considered one of the best organized campaigns seen in this State. The Senator then went on to win the general election. He was reelected in 1952. His self-confidence in challenging the younger La Follette, one of the Nation's most capable legislators, was an early indication of McCarthy's aggressive conduct in a turbulent career in the years to come.

The Senator's career mounted after 1950 when he came to grips with the issue of communism. History will record him as one of the most aggressive and courageous fighters against communism among the Members of the United States Senate and the man who strove to awaken the public to the dangers and immediacy of communism in our Government. Because of his continuous and courageous fight against the threat of communism, he became the most controversial United States Senator of the century. During the peak of his career his name was before the public daily and the people followed every move he made avidly. A man of firm convictions, he had strong friends and equally firm opponents. Many who disagreed with his methods admired his devotion to the cause he espoused, and his courage of conviction. As a result of his activity he was awarded many citations from civic and patriotic organizations.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

Senator McCarthy is survived by his wife, Jean, a daughter, Tierney Elizabeth, three brothers, Stephen and Howard of Appleton and William of Chicago, and two sisters, Mrs. Olive Kornely and Mrs. Anna Mae Long of Appleton.

In view of the high office to which the people of Wisconsin twice elected Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the devotion to his country for which he did in fact lay down his life; be it

Resolved by the senate (the assembly concurring), That the legislature express its deep sorrow at the untimely passing of the Senator and express to his wife and other survivors their most heartfelt condolences for their loss; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the journal and that copies be sent to each of the immediate surviving family, to the Secretary of the United States Senate, to Senator Alexander P. Wiley and Congressman John W. Byrnes.

Robert G. Marotz,
Speaker of the Assembly.
Arthur L. May,
Chief Clerk of the Assembly.
W. P. Knowles,
President of the Senate.
Lawrence R. Larsen,
Chief Clerk of the Senate.

Remarks by Senator Young

Of North Dakota

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, one of the finest and most deserved tributes I have read concerning our late and good friend Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY was a eulogy preached by the Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, Ph. D., at the commemorative exercises held by the Queens County Catholic War Veterans of New York State on June 29, 1957, at Forest Hills Park Music Grove, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y. It is a eulogy that I am sure the many thousands of devoted friends of JOE MCCARTHY would like to read. I ask unanimous consent that this eulogy be printed in the Record.

EULOGY ON THE LATE SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, PREACHED BY THE REVEREND EDWARD LODGE CURRAN, PH. D., AT THE COMMEMORATIVE EXERCISES HELD BY THE QUEENS COUNTY CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS OF NEW YORK STATE, JUNE 29, 1957, AT FOREST HILLS PARK MUSIC GROVE, FOREST HILLS, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

We are assembled here, united in our devotion to the great Catholic, the great American and the great Senator, for whom we have just offered this sacrifice of the Mass. We thank the Catholic War Veterans of Queens County for having made this sacred occasion a reality.

In the spring of the year and in the summer of his life, Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY heard the eternal summons of God. Many times, as he flew above the clouds on military mission in the defense of his country at war, he faced the possibility of death. The winds sung a song of death. The propellers hummed a symphony of death. The bullets carried a message of death. Yet, he was spared a flier's death in the bosom of the sky, to meet a hero's death within the bosom of his countrymen.

And thus it was, in the spring of the year and in the summer of his life, that he heard the eternal summons of God and answered it. He left his loving wife and child. He left the jeweled lakes of Wisconsin. He left this Nation, to which, like Washington, he gave his best in war and peace. He left the millions whom he had inspired with the righteousness of his cause and with the vigor of his virtues. He turned aside from the pathway of the world to dwell in the eternal mansions of God. In the beautiful words of the poet, William Butler Yeats, he "paced upon the mountains overhead and hid his face amid a crowd of stars."

The death of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY is one of the greatest tragedies our Nation has suffered since the close of World War II. We shall miss his face and form upon the horizon of life. We shall miss the ringing cadence of his voice. We shall miss his dynamic leadership. We shall miss his sincerity, his integrity, his energy and his courage.

Our hearts go out to his beloved wife in her bereavement. Despite the tragedy of her grief, there should be one sunburst of consolation within the shadows of her soul. She is not alone in her grief. We who are gathered here, the thousands upon thousands who have gathered around similar requiem Masses in his memory, and millions upon millions of his fellow citizens are sharers of her grief. Her tears are mingled in the ocean of tears that have been shed by all real Americans at his passing. The memory of his life will quicken and deepen the reality of her love. The memory of his life will quicken and deepen the reality of our devotion.

His entire life was motivated by love. He loved his family. He believed in the divine and spiritual as well as in the human and emotional factors of marriage. He knew that the preservation of the family means the salvation of the state. Even in this, he revealed his detestation of atheistic communism. For communism seeks to destroy the divine integrity of the family, to abolish the divine authority of the family, to wipe out the divine essence of the family, so that the coming generation may be brought up in hatred and slavery, in godlessness and war.

He loved his God. He never forgot the love of God that he was taught in his boyhood home. He practiced the command of Christ to love God with all his mind and heart and soul and strength. He learned to use the language of prayer simultaneously with the language of his native tongue. He knew that a godless world would be a world of sin and slavery and tyranny and despair. He realized that the aim of atheistic communism is to create a godless world. He refused to compromise with the enemies of God. Therefore, he detested and defied atheistic communism as the enemy of God as well as the enemy of man.

He loved his church. He was proud to be known as the Catholic Senator from Wisconsin. He regarded his church as the extension of Christ's personality throughout the world. He was loyal to the truths of Christ, to the sacraments of Christ, to the ideals of Christ. He was good as well as brilliant. He was spiritual as well as successful. He was the greatest lay crusader in his church against the forces of atheistic communism. He never forgot the clear and ringing words in which Pope Pius XI denounced the menace of atheistic communism. "Communism," Pope Pius XI wrote 20 years ago, "is intrinsically wrong and no one who would preserve Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever." He sought to acquaint his fellow citizens with the truth of that indictment.

He loved his country. No man ever loved it more. He loved his country so much that he risked his life to defend her in World War II. He loved his country so much that he spent his entire senatorial career in ferreting out the communistic termites that had entrenched themselves in our body politic for nearly 20 years.

He was not one of those public officials who bravely denounce communism on the one hand and cowardly appease communism on the other hand. Since communism is intrinsically wrong, it is wrong in all its principles, in all its methods, in all its objectives, and in all its activities. Since communism is intrinsically wrong, it is not merely a political evil or a social evil or an economic evil. It is a spiritual evil. It is intrinsically wrong like hatred. It is intrinsically wrong like blasphemy. It is intrinsically wrong like the murder of the innocent.

No member of the Government of the United States of America ever understood the evil of atheistic communism as clearly and as dynamically as Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY. Because he knew that communism is intrinsically wrong, he opposed the policy of keeping communism alive, through the misuse of American tax money and through the greed of American trade, anywhere throughout the world. Because he knew that communism is intrinsically wrong, he righteously denounced all Communists, all communistic fellow travelers, all fifth-amendment liberals, and all pubic officials who had been guilty of ignoring or concealing the criminal conspiracy of atheistic communism.

As chairman of the Senate's investigating subcommittee, he performed a service for the defense of America that ranks second to none in the annals of the United States Senate. He was not deterred by the hatred of his communistic enemies. He was not deterred by the sarcasm of phony liberals. He was not deterred by the betrayal of his own political party. He put his country above all parties. For the sake of his country, he was willing to bear every personal affront and attack. The magnanimity of his soul prevented him from hating anyone. He even accepted the injustice of the White House-sponsored senatorial censure, with dignity and meekness.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

The greatness of a man is measured by the qualities of his soul more than by the magnitude or multitude of his activities. The spirituality and the patriotism of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY have enshrined him in the history of his country and in the hearts of his countrymen forever. We shall continue to offer him our loving prayers and our prayerful love. We shall preach the message of his life to every young American. We shall emulate the message of his life by our own undying love of God and country. We shall fulfill the message of his life by dedicating our lives to the purpose for which he lived his life and for which he laid down his life: the protection of our beloved country and our beloved church against the forces of atheistic communism forever.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record many fine editorials and resolutions relating to Senator McCARTHY and his life.

EDITORIAL ON WONE NEWSCAST, MAY 3, 1957, 7:45 A. M., 12 NOON 6 P. M., 10:30 P. M.

(By George Young, WONE news director)

The first paragraph in the history of a great American has been written at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland.

It may seem incongruous that the life and good works of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY are not to be properly evaluated until after his death.

But that is the way with history and the great men whose real worth history recounts.

For history is a lengthy process as its strong voice sounds the laws of right and wrong across the centuries.

And when the final paragraph on Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY is inscribed, it will reveal him for what he was—a valiant fighter for what he believed to be right, an active participant in the battle against communism, a man of great courage and a patriot of the highest order.

But the history of Senator McCARTHY must also acknowledge his foes. They include frauds, eggheads, cowards, idle tramps, searchers for revenge, the jealous, the political opportunists, and outright traitors.

And the list of McCARTHY enemies and McCARTHY detractors will include not only the names of social parasites, but the names of Presidents as well.

History will record that ex-President Truman called McCARTHY "a pathological character assassin." It will reveal, to the eternal shame of those involved, that President Eisenhower and his advisers left the names of Senator and Mrs. McCarthy off the White House social invitation list.

And history will record how McCarthy's critics accused him of playing fast and loose with people's reputations by making what his foes termed unsupported accusations; it will say his enemies charged him with abusing witnesses before his one-man committee; it will repeat the charges of arrogance and demagoguery.

Even this early after his death, the foes of the Senator who sought out Communist snakes within the lush green fields of bureaucracy and the thick jungles of redtape within our Government—even this early after his death, these foes of the Senator are being termed those opposed to his tactics.

McCarthy's tactics, we believe, were required by the serious circumstances of the moment. True, he entered the quest for subversives and he was shod with hobnail boots as he went about his task. History has shown that you can't wipe a nest of vipers by tickling them to death with your bare toes.

Certainly, McCarthy was no perfect man, but in fearlessness and loyalty and conviction he was head and shoulders above most of his defamers and critics.

The number of subversives and fellow travelers and outright card-carrying Communists who were ultimately rooted out of the very heart of our Government administrative circles as a result of McCarthy's vigorous congressional investigations in the 1950's is a matter of record, and will shine in the history of that great American and to the credit of freemen everywhere.

Yes; the history of this farm boy from Appleton, Wis., will place him where he belongs in our memories—among the great zealous patriots who have gone to their deaths in defense of the American way of life.

And the small men in great places who have spoken ill of his endeavors, the vote of condemnation by his own colleagues in the Senate, the social snubbing by ill-advised occupants of the White House—these matters will but enhance the historic value of a man who died at the age of 47 in Bethesda, Md., last night—perhaps the victim of evil report which often is as deadly as an assassin's knife.

At the moment, it is small comfort for the many supporters of Senator McCarthy's upright and fearless brand of Americanism that he was able to clean out many of the enemies of our Government despite the hindrance of eggheads, liftwingers, New Dealers and Communists.

But history will record that Senator McCARTHY was a relentless fighter for the right as he saw it, and those who were on his side are legion.

At this hour they may glory in the bright memory of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY of Wisconsin while the first paragraph in his brilliant life is written in a history which continues to record the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind—and relentlessly inscribes on the tablets of eternity the records of great men like Senator McCARTHY who stood for that which is right and just in moral law.

ADD SENATOR JOE TO LIST WHO FOUGHT RED INVASION

Thus they pass—these vanishing Americans—Gen. George Patton, Forrestal, Taft, McCarran and now Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY. We wonder who will be next on the list—Dirksen? Bricker? Jenner? Walter? Bridges? Manion? MacArthur? Or may it be California's own Bill Knowland, Donald Jackson, or Jimmie Utt? All have fought for God and country and hated Communists and their slimy apologists with a fervent hatred, therefore all must be marked for destruction by fair means or foul.

They must be afraid at times, as we are all afraid for our loved ones and our very lives when dealing with such implacable foes. Afraid of the lies, the smears, the ridicule, the innuendoes that we know will be our lot when we cross swords with the Communists. But brave men fight on despite fear. It is the coward who compromises, makes excuses and clasps the traitor to his heart while trying to buy his way out of a fight.

We all know the Communists have no sense of honor or fair play and the dupes they get to do their dirty work are of the same ilk. They dance with joy when the words "witch hunt," "peace," "love," "do not judge" and the like are used for they know the lies and inconsistencies that lurk behind these words. Many people will not listen to the truth nor will they read the books that would enlighten them. It is much easier for a group to spend their time pulling a patriotic American's reputation to shreds.

And so from the falling hands of those who die for God and country the torch is thrown to us—the little people. Please God, there will be enough to hold it high, no matter how dark it seems, no matter how afraid we are, until the light of freedom and love of country once more shines forth o'er all our land.

Goodby, Senator JOE. Go with God, carrying with you our deepest thanks for giving us the courage to carry on the fight.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald of May 8, 1957]

JOE McCARTHY'S NOTICES

If JOE McCARTHY could be here to read his obituary notices, he would get quite a kick out of what his enemies are saying about him.

Some edge close to saying that he was sincere though misguided. They dare not go quite that far, however, because for 7 years they have been saying he was insincere. And he obviously wasn't misguided because he took no guidance from anybody.

Another theme is that while McCARTHY was a demagogue, he nevertheless represented a sizable body of public opinion. That looks odd in print, too, because it is a slur on the millions of Americans who believe as JOE McCARTHY did on the Communist menace.

Another viewpoint of the perspiring editorialists is that JOE McCARTHY thought anticommunism justified the overriding of human rights basic to the American concepts of individual liberty. But whose rights were overridden? Owen Lattimore's? Those of Army Dentist Peress, or John Carter Vincent of the State Department? If any innocent soul was ruined, who was it?

Senator McCARTHY bruised a few feelings, but the main thing he did was to establish the fact that his mealymouthed targets wouldn't come clean about communism. There was a coverup in the Army and not nearly enough vigilance in the Defense Establishment and the State Department. JOE McCARTHY woke 'em up. It's never been quite as easy to be a Communist or a Communist sympathizer in America since he took out after them. Americans are in his debt for that.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) News-Free Press of May 3, 1957]

DEATH OF A PATRIOT

Senator JOE McCARTHY is dead. America has lost a patriot.

He lived and did his valuable work in a period when, with some, patriotism was not popular. But popularity was not what JOE McCARTHY sought. A driving, determined fighter for his country, he sounded the alarm of the greater danger of Communist subversion in our Nation at a time when Communist coddling was an accepted and protected practice.

While America sent off its young men to die on foreign battlefields against communism, those in high place in this country compromised the safety of the Nation and gave aid and comfort to the enemy in our midst by ignoring Communist subversion.

Senator **McCarthy**'s great value to America was in alerting the people to this perfidy in time to arouse public opinion with sufficient force to curb the internal Red menace.

In doing so, Senator **McCarthy** sometimes used bad judgment. His sense of public relations was atrocious. He did not abide by all the cozy little rules of etiquette in fighting communism. But there was no question that he stood for America and against communism. There was great question as to where many of his critics stood.

When he chose the role of fighter against Communists, Senator **McCarthy** certainly must have realized the personal risk he was taking, for every vigorous fighter against the Reds before him, and since, had been vilified and the object of attack. **Joe McCarthy**, rather than being the exception, became the chief target of the Communists, the fellow travelers, the bleeding hearts, the misguided, the ignorant, and the vicious. The most destructive criticism of all did not come from Communists, but from those who mouthed the Red line.

No man in recent public life has been so slandered and abused as was Senator **McCarthy**. His pious critics used the very tactics they falsely attributed to him. Hypocrisy was rampant, and so far as the goal of dimming **Joe McCarthy**'s rising star was concerned, hypocrisy prevailed.

In one of the most shameful scenes in American history, the United States Senate, under pressure and with simpering, posturing Senators taking the lead, censured **Joe McCarthy** for his devoted Americanism.

That marked the eclipse of Senator **McCarthy**'s effectiveness. "McCarthyism" had gone down in dictionaries as a bad word.

Joe McCarthy was beaten, but the cause for which he stood somehow won out. His sacrifice had served to waken America—perhaps just in time—and as a result of his fight the coddling of Communists is no longer the prevailing style.

At his death, we hail this American patriot.

[From the Lawrence (Mass.) Sunday Sun of May 19, 1957]

My Favorite Prayer—Submitted to the Laymen's National Committee

(By Gill Robb Wilson, editor and publisher, Flying Magazine)

Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner.

IN RETROSPECTION

The tumult and the shouting over the death of Senator **Joseph McCarthy** have subsided but today, as he lies in his final rest, people still speak of him. Perhaps it is significant of his eminence in the thoughts of everyone during his career—and now—that, although the name JOSEPH MCCARTHY is by no means an uncommon one, whenever it was spoken everyone knew just which one was meant.

Senator "JOE" MCCARTHY was not just a political figure. He was a great American. Not only was he a combat veteran of World War II, but, after the war, he continued to fight with all his gifts and powers for his country.

He loved intensely all that was American. He hated with equal intensity any person or ideology designed to destroy America. Communists, pinks and fellow-travelers who infiltrated our Government and Armed Forces attracted his special wrath.

With the zeal of a crusader, he worked to pry them out from under their rocks. The entire Nation should be grateful to him today in memory for the degree of success he enjoyed in that effort in spite of the cloak-and-dagger atmosphere in high places which sought to, and in many instances did, prevent him from tearing the masks from enemies of this country.

The worth of Senator MCCARTHY'S service to the United States cannot be adequately appraised even today. Only time and the accumulation of the tomes of history will accomplish that.

He made enemies. Anyone who fights for the right attracts the condemnation of those who are affected by his actions. His enemies were furtive and bitter. Abuses were piled upon him. He was constantly under attack and much of this malediction came not only from the Communists but their friends and protectors in high positions in Government.

Little wonder that, in his nerve-wracking struggle to protect his country and defend himself, his health was affected to the ultimate.

JOE MCCARTHY, as surely as any man who died on the battlefield, gave his life for the land he loved. He went down fighting for freedom and justice for every one of us.

It will take a long time to find a person equally as patriotic and militant to replace him. His life has ended, but the work he did so nobly should be perpetuated and the enemies of our country everywhere run down and ferreted out with the same sublime fervor as was applied to that task by this truly great American.

MCCARTHY WARNING ON ATOM PACT GAINS SUPPORT

(By Fulton Lewis, Jr.)

WASHINGTON, May 12.—The last formal speech the late Senator JOE MCCARTHY made outside the Senate floor was an attempt to focus some public attention on the dangers inherent in the proposed International Atomic Energy Agency Treaty.

The horrifying point is that he was absolutely right, under terms of the treaty, when he said:

"The International Atomic Energy Agency Treaty is a device by which the United States can be trapped into building up the atomic armament potential of our enemies. Of course, the administration does not intend it to be used for that purpose; the point is that it can be used, and most likely will be used, for that purpose under this treaty—our intentions notwithstanding. And I shall vote for no such treaty as that."

As other Senators come to a realization of the full implications of the treaty, and of just what it proposes, many are reaching the same conclusion—that they will vote for no such pact, either; enough, so that chances of it being ratified in its present form are becoming virtually nil.

More and more, they are awakening to the fact that we are promising to turn over to the contemplated international agency sufficient uranium 235 to make enough atomic bombs. In McCARTHY's words, "to destroy every major city in the United States"; and that proclaimed safeguards are totally inadequate to prevent such use.

QUESTIONABLE "SAFEGUARDS"

President Eisenhower has promised to make available to the agency at least 5,000 kilograms of U–235, and up to 20,000 kilograms by matching other contributions. Soviet Russia has pledged 50 kilograms.

Ratification of the treaty is being urged on the thesis that all the nations receiving materials and other aid under this "atoms for peace" program, will use it for peaceful purposes; and that if they do not, their miscreancy will be detected readily.

This is a broader supposition than most Senators will accept, inasmuch as the Soviet Union and nine satellites signed the treaty. History has demonstrated clearly the utter foolishness of trusting any Communist nation to live up to a treaty.

UNITED STATES HAS ONE VOTE IN EIGHTY

The treaty's so-called "safeguard" provisions set forth exact steps to be taken if a country is found to be using agency materials for missile purposes, and refuses to return the fissionable materials.

First, the incident is to be referred to the agency's 23-member board of governors (United States: 1 vote of 23), then to its every-member general conference (United States: 1 vote in 80, or whatever the number of members). The conference then can cite the culprit to the United Nations.

McCarthy did not believe this was the kind of setup into which the Senate should put the United States. He spoke, 3 months ago, the words which many of his recent colleagues now are echoing.

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Evening Star]

A Great American Passes

This Nation, from humble beginnings as far back as the Boston Tea Party, has become great only through the patriotic efforts of men who placed America first.

Our history has consisted of a procession of public sacrifices by individuals in private and public life who refused to permit foreign ideologies to have a part in our American way of life. Their efforts were misunderstood and calumniated by a fickle public that refused to believe stark facts.

The latest patriotic victim—the second in our decade—is the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, whose passing in the prime of his courageous life leaves a vacuum in Americanism.

The other was the late Senator Robert Taft, of Ohio, whose championship of America first led him almost to the Presidency. His death, too, removed from the political scene one of the greatest supporters of the administration from a standpoint of stemming the tide of foreign encroachment in our domestic affairs.

America can ill afford to lose such stalwart patriots as Messrs. McCarthy and Taft.

To our everlasting pride, these newspapers can point to many years of editorial support of the underlying principles that inspired the courageous fight of both Senators against communism and the involvement of our Nation in foreign entanglements, to say nothing of the sensational exposures brought about by the McCarthy investigations.

Suffice it to say that if there had been a Joe McCarthy in public life after World War I there would never have been an Alger Hiss.

[From the Dixon (Ill.) Evening Telegraph of May 3, 1957]

America Loses a Defender

The death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, takes one of America's foremost and fiercest foes of communism and a forthright fighter against all un-American threats against freedom and our way of life.

The battle against the Red menace will proceed unabated, but even those who opposed the controversial Senator McCARTHY and his methods will agree that he pointed the way and led the battle in a courageous and all-out manner.

The Telegraph has always been on record as believing Senator McCARTHY to be sincere, fearless and right, and we subscribe to the McCARTHY policy that the Reds fight rough and must be opposed with glove-off tactics.

We hope there will be others in Washington of similar caliber to follow in the footsteps of the late Wisconsin Senator.

[From the O'Neill (Nebr.) Frontier of Thursday, May 16, 1957]

JOE McCARTHY DARED TO TROD

Now that most of the eulogies have been offered in behalf of the late Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, Republican, of Wisconsin, the Frontier begs to offer its bit.

This newspaper was steadfast in backing McCARTHY during and after the Senate investigation of subversives in Government. While some agreed with JOE in principle, they undermined his efforts by abhorring his tactics. Others simply hated McCARTHY and said he was barking up a tree.

There were several big libel suits slapped against JOE, but none was made to stick. The liberals in Government, the do-gooding newswriters, television and radio commentators attacked JOE at every turn. They tried to disgrace him on income-tax matters, they assassinated his character, some even attacked his war record. The Communist organ, the Daily Worker, coined the word "McCarthyism" and the do-gooders took up the theme—precisely to Moscow's liking.

The liberals pounced on JOE with considerably more vindictive than JOE ever attacked anyone else.

Sure, JOE trimmed Major Peress down to size and Senator JOE was never proved wrong about Peress' subversive connections. Yet Peress was promoted and Senator JOE wondered why and by whom.

The decorated General Zwicker (we won't question his war record) certainly is unfit to wear the uniform if he protected higher authorities during a Senate investigation. The military must always be accountable fully and completely to the highest civilian authority.

JOE's greatest sin was that he dared to brave the trail in pursuit of the Communists and anti-anti-Communists.

The liberal publications, columnists, and tonsil artists on the air, by their relentless attacks during and after the Senate hearings, contributed to JOE's decline in spirit and in health. They rode herd on him to his Appleton, Wis., grave.

The Frontier, however, nominates the late Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY as one of the brave patriots of all time. As far as America is concerned, he almost singlehandedly opened the American front in the cold war against communism. Many important personages wanted to jump into the fight as an ally but few had the courage.

JOE will go down in history as the 20th century Paul Revere, for his awakening of the American people to the grip the enemy had on our own who occupied sensitive positions in Government. JOE spurred defense thinking, for which, actually, the Pentagon should now award him a posthumous medal.

JOE's demise poses new problems. Who is there on the same national scene who will wade in and sacrifice himself on the same altar?

Ironically a Nebraska woman, Mrs. Hazel Hempel Abel, was crowned the 1957 American mother in New York while JOE's casket was being lowered into the wooded lawn at Appleton.

At the height of the McCARTHY feeling in the land Mrs. Abel was a short-term candidate for the United States Senate from Nebraska.

She allayed any fears she would censure McCARTHY while campaigning in O'Neill. She told the Frontier she, personally, had helped to arrange for JOE's appearance before the Republican Woman's Club of San Diego, Calif. She indicated to us privately—not for publication—that she was in JOE's corner.

Mrs. Abel went to the Senate.

The get McCARTHY crowd needed her vote when the condemnation matter came up. They needed it badly because her name began with "A"—a critical vote on the rollcall.

They got her vote which started Mr. McCARTHY on the decline physically and spiritually.

Zwicker, a war hero, who permitted his person to be tainted by clamming up before a Senate investigation committee.

Mrs. Abel, no doubt a wonderful mother but way off base the moment she stepped into the political waters much too deep for her to fathom. She belatedly wishes the condemnation could be stricken from the records.

JOE McCARTHY, a tombstone for the Appleton farm boy, an Irishman with guts who dared to probe where others feared to trod.

Historians write objectively. When all the extraneous pros and cons on Mr. McCARTHY are torn away, there will stand a martyr

* * * a man who singlehandedly took on the Kremlin and opened a vital front in America's cold war * * * a 20th century Paul Revere.

[From the Essex Junction (Vt.) Suburban List of May 9, 1957]

SENATOR McCARTHY'S DEATH A SHOCK

The sudden death of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY of Wisconsin was a shock to all the Nation.

He became a national figure in his intensive investigation and attack on communism in this country. Some people may have thought that he went a little too far but the condition was so serious that it required strong-hand methods.

Senator McCARTHY's investigation was largely leveled at teachers in colleges and schools who had tendencies toward communism. He recognized this was a serious threat to the stability of the Nation and he went after such communistic interests with a strong force. It took courage to do that but the Senator recognized it was necessary in order to clean up instruction in the schools and colleges which would be detrimental to the interest of American ideals.

It was always a source of satisfaction to me the way Senator McCARTHY hammered at those under investigation who hid under the cloak of the fifth amendment and refused to tell of their connection with the Communist blocs.

He was attacked on the ground that his investigation was a threat to free speech. It is true that the Federal Constitution gives the people free speech but it does not give anyone the right to foment policies which might undermine and destroy the Government of the United States.

Senator McCARTHY was a shining symbol of the fight against communism. He was a man of great courage and a patriot of the highest order. He was looked upon by thousands of people throughout the Nation as exemplifying and carrying out the highest type of Americanism. He never yielded an inch in his many and somewhat bitter encounters. No matter from whom criticism came it never deterred him in his fight to rout out communism.

It has always been a regret to me that the United States Senate by a vote of 67 to 22 condemned his action. It is also a regret to me that a Vermont Senator let himself be used as a cat's paw to present those charges to the Senate.

Some of the high ranking Republicans made the charge that Senator McCARTHY was doing his best to shatter the Republican

Party. Let me ask if the Republican Party is of more importance to this country than the country's security and stability.

Some Communists and fellow-travelers were misled by propaganda. They may have felt that they were doing good for the country but no Communist activity could in any way bring about a better condition in this country. It has been said, "Right or wrong my country comes first." I will stand for that. If there are any influences which might be detrimental to the stability of the United States I am against them. That is about the position that Senator McCarthy took and I applaud him for it.

Monuments have been built to preserve the memory of patriots. No monument could be built which would adequately represent the patriotism of Senator McCarthy. His monument will be everlasting and it will be in the hearts of the American people who would destroy an influence that might bring about the destruction of the United States.

I don't believe there is a single man in the entire country who has done more to break down and destroy the influence of communism than Senator McCarthy. He stands at the top in defending American principles. And I never could understand why there was so much influence brought to bear against his strong investigation against communism.

Anyway, a good many professors in colleges were relieved of their positions on account of the McCarthy investigations. Many of them were discharged simply because they took refuge under the fifth amendment. If those professors were clean and above board and real Americans they could have nothing to fear. They were afraid to have their activities in the interest of communism laid bare.

One reason for criticism of McCarthy is that he went after the ones higher up. He tried to get at the foundation of communism in this country. He tried to get at traitors of the Government who sold secrets to the Russian Government.

Some of his investigations did not get to the final conclusion but he did show up that there was rotteness among employees of the Government and there was rottenness in some colleges and schools where the teachers taught the principle of overthrowing the Government.

Senator McCarthy may not have been in the good graces of high Republican leaders, but he would never cringe to their pleadings. He was for America and American principles first and last, and nothing could deter him from his attack of influences that might destroy this country.

As time goes on and history is recorded, Senator McCarthy will go down as one man who has done much to preserve the stability and endurance of the United States.

[From U. S. A. of May 24, 1957]

The Truth About McCarthy

Finally the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth has been told about Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Once told, the truth cannot be untold.

It is sad that often in the course of human events, truth is heard only after the quiet of the grave has silenced the tumult and the shouting of strife. It is entirely fitting that the truth about Senator McCarthy was told between the time of death and burial, by his self-styled "friend and colleague" Senator William F. Knowland, a man of integrity.

In a speech made to the American Jewish League Against Communism, May 5, 1957, Senator Knowland said he knows for a fact that in the struggle to rid the United States Government and America of Communist infiltration, Senator McCarthy "would have preferred to fight quietly."

Senator Knowland revealed what some people know and deliberately ignore—the fact that long before Senator McCarthy made any public speech about such Communist infiltration, he tried his level best in face-to-face talks with White House, State Department, and Congressional leaders, to persuade them to clean house.

The behind-the-scenes efforts of the junior Senator from Wisconsin were unavailing. His soft-spoken pleas fell on the deaf ears of little men in high places who had made and were making grave mistakes.

Spurned and frustrated, Joe McCarthy quit fighting quietly and did it loudly.

His tragic mistake was that he failed to gage properly the force of the greatest secular power on earth, the almost unbreakable monopoly of men's vested interests in their own mistakes.

The reasons for the easy gain of this monopoly power lie in two phrases: It is human to err. Vanity, all is vanity.

On the subject of communism—as McCarthy understood—erring is much too costly. Even the most innocent mistake about communism can cost our Nation its freedom.

All of us can once again learn a lesson from the truth about Senator McCarthy: It is human to err; it is brave to confess; it is divine to forgive. Unhappily, this is a lesson that many men, to whom the junior Senator from Wisconsin talked quietly at first and then loudly, do not seem willing to learn.

Locked away in steel cabinets on Capitol Hill are files and files of credible testimony about the Communist subversion of America. This testimony was given by patriotic citizens to the elected representatives of all the people for the benefit and safety of all the people.

This locked-away testimony—given to congressional committees in executive session—is evidence of the fact that many Americans, like JOE MCCARTHY, tried to fight quietly against communism. The quiet suppression of this evidence is also mute testimony to the fact that the fight cannot be fought and won quietly so long as some influential men wish to bury their own mistakes in secret.

The only right way to bury a mistake is to correct it. Uncorrected mistakes live on and on, haunting those who made them.

The tragedy of McCarthyism is that it was both unneeded and needed—unneeded because senior officers of our Government should have heeded the quiet warning and pleas of the junior Senator; needed because only his loud outcry could bestir men deafened by the sound of guilty conscience pounding on the drums of airs soft-stuffed with fatuousness and vanity.

Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY would have preferred to fight quietly. That is the truth. Another truth is that many of those who decried his methods forced them upon him.

McCarthyism is a Communist-inspired slogan first coined in the Daily Worker. Resurrected and put to proper use by patriotic Americans, McCarthyism can be a winning weapon against communism. Such a kind of McCarthyism must be of the kind that MCCARTHY himself would have preferred—the kind of quiet, deadly fight that spells the end of communism through a victorious cold war, not the strident battle that brings communism to its inevitable end in a hot war that is hell.

Whereas Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY departed from this world on May 2, 1957; and

Whereas in recognition of his forceful fight against communism and all principles of communism during his years in public office; and

Whereas in recognition of his outstanding record of maintaining and advocating the highest principles of Catholicity at all times during his distinguished career in public office: Be it

Resolved, That Star of the Sea Council No. 371, Knights of Columbus, Bayonne, N. J., at its regular meeting on May 6, 1957, stand in tribute and silent prayer for the happy repose of his soul, thereby honoring the memory and distinguished works of an outstanding American Catholic; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the bereaved family of the late Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY.

Whereas the Honorable Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY has distinguished himself as a great American; disdaining all thoughts of personal gain or glory, he fought his own and others for justice and the American way. He was a scourge to all those who sought to undermine our Nation by force or by will. He was always a steadfast foe of communism and declared his principles forthrightly against any attempt at political hypocrisy: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That in grateful memory of his unselfish service to our country and to his gracious friendship to Dover Council 807, Knights of Columbus, a Requiem High Mass shall be said for the repose of his soul; and be it further hereby

Resolved, That a record of this resolution be spread on the records of Dover Council 807, Knights of Columbus, and a copy hereof be sent to his wife, with whom we join in our prayers, deep sympathy, and our everlasting respect.

Whereas the late Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, while accused of ruthless tactics and of smearing innocent people in his courageous and vigorous fight to expose subversives in Government service, was himself the victim of one of the most ruthless and vicious smear campaigns to destroy a man's character and his effectiveness ever waged in this country; and

Whereas the voice of Senator McCARTHY has been forever stilled in death, yet his gallant efforts to prevent the betrayal of his country will live in the memory of the American people long after the names of his critics have been lost in oblivion; and

Whereas the censure of Senator McCARTHY by his Senate colleagues, although a heart-breaking experience for him, reflects greater discredit upon the dignity and honor of the Members of that august body than upon the good of the man whom they sought to publicly humiliate; and

Whereas Senator George Malone has announced that he will seek to have expunged from the Congressional Record the whole censure proceedings, including all debate and discussion: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Dallas County Patriotic Council heartily approves the effort of Senator Malone to have the Senate make partial amends for the grave injustice done to a great American patriot and also commends radio commenator, Fulton Lewis, Jr., for his sponsorship of the Joseph McCarthy Memorial Fund; and be it further

Resolved, That copy of this resolution with a contribution to the McCarthy fund be sent to Fulton Lewis, Jr., and that copies also be sent to Senator George Malone, to our Texas Senators, Lyndon Johnson and Ralph Yarborough, and to Mrs. Joseph McCarthy.

Remarks by Representative Alger

Of Texas

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following resolution by the Texas Republican State executive committee, in which I wholeheartedly join:

Resolved, That the Republican State Executive Committee of Texas extends to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy its sincere sympathy upon the death of her husband, the Honorable JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, late a Senator from the State of Wisconsin.

Unanimously adopted by the Republican State Executive Committee of Texas, meeting in Dallas, Tex., the 9th day of May 1957.

THAD HUTCHESON, *Chairman.*

Remarks by Representative Perkins Bass

Of New Hampshire

Mr. BASS of New Hampshire. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Record an article by the senior Senator of my State, the Honorable Styles Bridges, which appeared in the Hearst papers, together with a resolution passed by the House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire, in tribute to the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY of Wisconsin.

The article and resolution follow:

(By United States Senator Styles Bridges, Republican, of New Hampshire)

WASHINGTON, May 4.—Since JOE MCCARTHY came to the United States Senate after his election in 1946, Communist power has been in the ascendency. Since that time, communism has continued to expand and today it holds fast in its grip one-third of the earth's surface and imprisons almost a billion human beings. Its advance agents, moreover, are diligently at work in areas all over the still-unconquered world.

Communist forces have almost without diminution scored one victory after another. These Communist victories had been achieved not so much by direct Soviet conquest, but too often because of the weakness, the vacillation, and even acts of betrayal on the part of people in the still-free world. JOE MCCARTHY saw all this very clearly and in his direct fashion undertook to grapple with the forces responsible for our deterioration in his own area—Washington.

Because he never gave ground and never retreated in the face of the most devastating counterattacks, there was always dust swirling about him. History seemed to have ordained him for this very rugged role and he played it like a martyr. In so doing, he dramatized resistance to underground Communists such as it has never been dramatized before—either here in the United States or anywhere abroad. He stirred most of his countrymen for a time from the complacency that even now blankets the land. He should have earned the gratitude of the whole free world.

The Communists, however, had mapped out a campaign the purpose of which was to portray him as a symbol of resistance to Communist infiltration. They thereupon undertook a diabolical campaign to destroy the symbol. Whether they have succeeded in this, the future will tell.

JOE in the face of 7 years of unremitting assault never yielded. His spirit was a fighting one to the end. But his once powerful body, however, could not keep pace and he died—died of attrition and in battle. I hope, however, that the spirit of resistance that he sought to engender will not depart the land with him.

When history views this performance of JOE's, I am sure it will reserve for him a very high niche on its fabled walls. It has always reserved for the courageous a place of prominence, and as the legions of communism march closer to our homeland, there will be more and more people who will, like JOE, rise up and do battle.

The struggle that lies ahead for all of us will be a titanic one. It will probably take a great toll of lives—just as it has taken JOE's. But if his successors play their particular roles with the same show of courage that characterized his every action, we cannot fail to win in the end.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE DEATH OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Whereas we have learned of the passing of JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, United States Senator from the State of Wisconsin; and

Whereas Senator McCARTHY has served his country with valor and has won the respect of all who knew of him: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, do hereby pay tribute to this fearless crusader who, more than any other one person, has awakened Americans to the dangers of communism; and be it further

Resolved, That when the house adjourns today it adjourn in memory of this dearly beloved Senator; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Mrs. McCarthy.

W. DOUGLAS SCAMMAN,
Speaker, House of Representatives.
JOSEPH F. ECKER,
Representative from Manchester.
GEORGE T. RAY, JR.,
Clerk, House of Representatives.

Remarks by Representative Broyhill

Of Virginia

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following resolution recently adopted by the Young Republican Club of Arlington, Va., an outstanding club in my district, in behalf of our late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

Whereas death claimed the junior Senator from Wisconsin on May 2, 1957; and

Whereas the junior Senator from Wisconsin helped to awaken the American people to the intrigues of international communism; and

Whereas Senator MCCARTHY was one of the most tireless workers in the Republican Party; and

Whereas Senator MCCARTHY was to many Republicans more than the junior Senator from Wisconsin because of his fight against communism and his work for the party: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Young Republican Club of Arlington, Va., expresses its sympathy at his untimely death; and further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Senator's widow, Mrs. Jean Kerr McCarthy.

Remarks by Representative Byrne

Of Illinois

Mr. BYRNE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I would like to have consent to place in the Record an editorial appearing in the Southtown Economist on May 5 regarding the passing of my colleague in the Senate, JOSEPH R. McCARTHY.

The editorial is a most realistic appraisal of the Senator from Wisconsin. Americans everywhere can indeed be grateful to him for bringing to the people's attention the threat at our door and inside our door.

I was present when JOE McCARTHY addressed the South Side luncheon held last year in connection with the automobile show.

The editorial follows:

SENATOR McCARTHY

Passing of the late Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, of Wisconsin, takes from the world scene an indomitable force that long will be missed. More than any other person of modern times, JOE McCARTHY awakened the Nation and those overseas to the insidious and never-ending effort of the Kremlin to enslave free peoples under the Communist yoke.

In doing so he had to be as ruthless in attacking the enemies of mankind as they have been ruthless. The Reds, in and out of Government, concentrated their attack on him in the typical communistic fashion of destroying any and all who would dare challenge their aims and methods.

Senator McCARTHY's colleagues in the Senate now assert he was a martyr in the cause of a free America and a free world. Failure on the part of his fellows to support him undermined his strength.

Because it realized JOE McCARTHY was making a valiant and almost singlehanded fight in behalf of the United States and its institutions, the Southern Economist invited him to address the South Side luncheon held last year in connection with the current automobile show. We are glad we did, and we mourn with millions of others the loss of a great and true American.

Remarks by Representative Byrnes

Of Wisconsin

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following resolution:

RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICE OF SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, A WISCONSIN REPUBLICAN

The members of the eighth GOP congressional district were grieved to learn of the untimely passing of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland on May 2, 1957. Few people sensed the seriousness of our Senator's last illness.

Senator MCCARTHY was born November 14, 1908, at Grand Chute, Wis. He received his early education in the Underhill Elementary School of his home community, the name of which school was recently changed to McCarthy School in honor of the Senator. While an elementary school student he conducted a poultry business on the farm of his father, Timothy. This farm the Senator recently purchased. In 1929 he enrolled in the Manawa High School, where he completed the prescribed 4-year course in a single year, graduating in 1930. In addition to his high-school work, he owned and managed a country grocery store. In 1930 after his graduation he started a similar store in Shiocton.

In the fall of 1930 he enrolled in the engineering school at Marquette University, but 2 years later he transferred to the law department, and in 1935 completed the prescribed 6-year course in 5 years. While attending Marquette he was completely self-sufficient, paying his own way by working as a boxing coach and operating a filling station at night. Six hours after his graduation from Marquette he had opened a law office in Waupaca.

In 1936 he became associated with the law office of Michael Eberlein, a prominent Shawano attorney, which association lasted about 3 years.

In 1939 the Senator entered the race for circuit judge of the 10th circuit and won a 3-cornered race. In 1945 he was reelected to the bench without opposition.

Meanwhile, early in 1942, he received a commission in the Marine Corps and served in the Pacific theater until December 1944 when he returned to the political arena. During his tour of duty he was granted leave of absence to run against the incumbent Senator Alexander Wiley in the Republican primary of 1944, but he was defeated.

Following his military career he began his campaign for the Senate seat of Robert M. La Follette whom he defeated in the primary of 1946. The Senator's campaign was considered one of the best organized campaigns seen in this State. He was reelected in 1952. His self-confidence in challenging the younger La Follette, one of the Nation's best known legislators, was an early indication of McCarthy's aggressive conduct in a turbulent career in the years to come.

The Senator's career mounted after 1950 when he came to grips with the issue of communism. History will record him as one of the most aggressive and courageous fighters against communism among the Members of the United States Senate and the man who did more to awaken the public to the dangers and immediacy of communism in our Government. Because of his continuous and courageous fight against the threat of communism, he became the most controversial United States Senator of the century. During the peak of his career his name was before the public daily and the people followed every move he made avidly. A man of firm convictions, he had strong friends and equally firm opponents. Many who disagreed with his methods admired his devotion to the cause he espoused, and his courage of conviction. As a result of his activity he was awarded many citations from civic and patriotic organizations.

Although Senator McCarthy himself never aspired to the Presidency of the United States, he played an important part in every presidential election since his arrival on the Federal scene. Because of his hard-hitting campaign techniques and desire to take issues in grip and expose the communistic menace, he more than any other Republican in America was credited with the election of our present President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, that brought about the end of 20 years of rule under the Democratic Party.

In view of the high office to which the people of Wisconsin twice elected Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the devotion to his country for which he did in fact lay down his life; be it

Resolved by the eighth district Republican caucus membership, That they express their deep sorrow at the untimely passing of the Senator and express to his wife and other survivors their most heartfelt condolences for their loss; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be made a part of the minutes of the eighth district caucus assembled at Green Bay, Wis., on

May 18, 1957, and that copies be sent to the Secretary of the United States Senate, to Senator Alexander P. Wiley, Congressman John W. Byrnes, and to his widow, Jean, at her address.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT YOUNG REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, 1957

Be it hereby

Resolved, That the Wisconsin Federation of Young Republicans in convention assembled in Stevens Point, May 12, 1957, hereby extends its deepest sympathy to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy and Tierney Elizabeth on the untimely death of our deeply beloved Senator, JOE MCCARTHY.

Whereas Wisconsin and the Nation has lost a valiant fighter for the cause of the American Republic and for the longstanding principles of the Republican Party; and

Whereas Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY has paid the supreme sacrifice for opposing those who would subvert and destroy America: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Wisconsin Federation of Young Republicans in convention assembled at Stevens Point, Wis., on this 12th day of May 1957, do hereby go on record as strongly urging our Senator, Alexander Wiley, to immediately introduce a resolution in the Senate to strike from the record of that body the unwarranted condemnation that cannot but serve as an extremely dangerous precedent for future thought control in our legislative halls.

To the honorable the Board of Supervisors of Outagamie County:

GENTLEMEN: Whereas Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY was born in the town of Grand Chute on November 14, 1908, attended school in Outagamie County and began a career as a businessman-farmer here, and

Whereas it was the people of Outagamie County who contributed heavily to his victory margin when he first successfully sought public office and became one of the youngest circuit court judges in Outagamie County at the age of 30; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy served his Nation faithfully, energetically, and in the best tradition in the Marine Corps in the South Pacific during World War II during which time he received several commendations for the manner in which he assumed his duties and fought for his country; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy was elected to the United States Senate in 1946 and there carried forward his fight against the enemies of his country against great odds and at great personal sacrifice; and

Whereas the people of Wisconsin and Outagamie County in particular showed their faith in Senator McCarthy and their desire that he continue his crusade to rid the United States of enemies from within by returning him to the Senate by a substantial margin in 1952; and

Whereas Senator McCarthy kept the welfare and safety of his Nation and his State foremost in his mind as he served the people of Wisconsin and Outagamie County long and well until his untimely death on May 2, 1957: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Board of Supervisors of Outagamie County, That it expresses its heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy, their daughter, Tierney Elizabeth, and other members of the McCarthy family in their personal loss and also feels profound sorrow at the death of a great American and our good friend; be it further

Resolved, That the Outagamie County Board of Supervisors commends Senator Joseph R. McCarthy for a job well done for service to his country above and beyond the call of duty both in wartime and in peacetime, for his courageous devotion to duties in making his country alert to the great menace of communism and for his untiring efforts on the bench and in the United States Senate while serving the people of Wisconsin and Outagamie County; be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this meeting as a memorial to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and that a certified copy of this resolution be delivered by the clerk of this board to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy, her daughter, Tierney Elizabeth, and to the Messrs. William, Howard, and Stephen McCarthy, Mrs.

Roman Kornely and Mrs. Anna May Long, the brothers and sisters of Senator McCarthy.

Dated this 14th day of May 1957.

Respectfully submitted.

Alvin Fulcer, Fred Hill, George Kroes, Emmett Root, Irvin Paul, Doug Evans, Ervin Conradt, Peter Farrell, Al C. Fischer, Walter F. Fredericks, Edward Peotter, John Fuhrman, Tom Duffey, Claude Bomier, Cecil Carpenter, Armin B. Scheurle, Steve L. Otis, Chris Roepcke, Michael Jacobs, Gordon A. Schultz, John R. Schreiter, Oliver Kloehn, George Miller, Sylvester Esler, Harry J. Cunningham, Patrick J. Heenan, Matt Verfurth, William P. Kopish, Max Kuehnl, Arthur Lecker, Erwin F. Teflock, Gerhard Ruhsam, Fred Krause, Leo Bleck, Norman M. Helms, F. R. Appleton, J. W. Weyenberg, Irving A. Grunwaldt, Desmond G. Schade, Lawrence J. Rebman, Fred Kranhold, Cornelius Crowe, Paul Kostka, Russell De La Hunt, Walter Laedtke, Walter Stearn, Jos. J. Weyers.

State of Wisconsin,
Outagamie County, ss:

I, Mollie E. Pfeffer, county clerk in and for Outagamie County, Wis., do hereby certify that the attached resolution is a true and correct copy of resolution No. 27 which was unanimously adopted by the county board of supervisors on May 14, 1957, by a rising vote.

Miss Mollie E. Pfeffer,
County Clerk.

Dated May 15, 1957.

Remarks by Representative Cunningham

Of Nebraska

Mr. CUNNINGHAM of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I am happy for this opportunity to include in the Record a letter from the recording secretary of Division No. 1 of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Omaha, Nebr. With the letter was an editorial from the Omaha World-Herald on the late Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY. I would commend both items to the attention of my colleagues.

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS IN AMERICA,
Omaha, Nebr.

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM,
Representative, State of Nebraska,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CUNNINGHAM: At the regular meeting of Division No. 1, Ancient Order of Hibernians, Omaha, Nebr., a motion was unanimously passed to send the attached editorial to you entitled "He Was a Fighter." As you will read, this editorial from the Omaha World-Herald of May 4 speaks out clearly on Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY.

We respectfully request that this editorial be entered into the Congressional Record of the United States as a tribute to this great Catholic, Irish-American patriot, who has done more to alert America to Godless communism than anyone else in our times.

We of the Hibernians wish to go on record before the world as standing side by side with him in his fight.

Let's offset the "censure" or "condemnation" or "social outcast" label by entering this editorial tribute into the official records. We are confident that before God and man, history will record JOE McCARTHY as a real champion.

Sincerely,

JERRY HASSETT,
Recording Secretary.

He Was a Fighter

In an era when most politicians were polite, dull, ineffectual, and prone to compromise, Joe McCarthy stood out spectacularly.

He was rough and tough. He once started to apologize to the Senate for what he called his bluntness, but what began as an apology ended with the ringing declaration that no matter how he said things he meant 'em.

It has been said that he made enemies unnecessarily, and perhaps in a few cases he did. But most of his enemies he made intentionally. He smoked out the odd and unlovely breed of Americans he called anti-anti-Communists, people who professed to dislike communism, but who hated and feared Communist hunters far more. He pinned the label "fifth-amendment Communists" on suspected subversives who dodged questions before congressional committees.

In his pursuit of Communists in Government, Senator McCarthy was ruthless, even savage. Sometimes his bludgeoning had unexpected results, as when he assailed the Army in the Peress case and disclosed that Army Secretary Stevens had been a pathetic blunderer.

Senator McCarthy's Red hunting drove the so-called liberals in this country to a pitch of fury not equaled in our time. Almost daily they burned him at the stake over the air or in their newspaper columns. They attacked his war record, which was honorable. They blasted his income-tax returns, which were found to be in order. They started a whispering campaign about his personal habits, which collapsed because it wasn't true.

To Americans on the sidelines the fury lavished on a lone Senator was an amazing phenomenon. Why was there such unreasoning hatred of the country's most prominent Red-hunter? His enemies said they hated his methods, but it seemed obvious that many of them simply did not want his methods to be successful.

In the end, his own colleagues broke Joe McCarthy. The vote to censure adopted by a majority of the Senate amounted to the lynching of a political nonconformist. The actual charges were petty, and many Senators admitted it. As one of them put it, "We were out to get the so-and-so and we got him."

Once in a while McCarthy flared back into the headlines, as when the White House put him on the social blacklist, shortly before his death. But his fellow Senators had killed his spirit and had taken the fight out of him. Considering that Joe McCarthy had more fight than most of the rest of the Senate put together, that was quite an accomplishment.

Remarks by Representative Dellay

Of New Jersey

Mr. DELLAY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, by inserting in the Congressional Record the following editorial from the Hudson Dispatch of May 4, 1957, which so aptly expresses my feelings:

METHODS WERE QUESTIONED BUT NOT PATRIOTISM OF SENATOR McCARTHY

While his critics, and many of them were bitterly so, questioned the methods used by United States Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, of Wisconsin, they did not asperse his patriotism.

No man can become such a controversial figure in American life as did he without making many opponents and even enemies.

For the 6 years between 1950 when he spearheaded a senatorial subcommittee probing the Army, until the end of the presidential campaign on November 6, 1956, there was no national figure that caused so much discussion, so much praise, and so much invective.

But the former Marine Corps captain was prepared to stand abuse, for he realized that when one pulls no punches that he must expect to absorb counterattacks with equanimity.

When he died at the age of 48 in Bethesda Naval Hospital, Maryland, Thursday night, the career of one of the Nation's most vigorous opponents of communism ended.

In 1954 Senator McCARTHY reached the peak of his political career in the battle with Army officials.

He charged that they were seeking to cover up subversives. They, in turn, accused him of browbeating witnesses and misleading statements.

Through the medium of TV millions of Americans sat with him through the Senate investigation that followed his own. They became familiar with his interruptions —"Mr. Chairman * * * point of order."

Growing out of that investigation was a Senate inquiry into his conduct and a vote of condemnation against him. That was the beginning of his eclipse.

His health then began to decline more obviously. His muscular frame—he was once a promising amateur boxer—puffed out with fat which he later lost by a rigid diet.

Acute hepatitis was the illness that killed him.

The onetime farm boy from Appleton, Wis., had gone a long way. "JOE" MCCARTHY—he liked to be called "JOE"—became a name mentioned in almost every household.

Often mentioned in his heyday as a possible Presidential candidate—he would have been the first Roman Catholic to receive the GOP nomination—Senator MCCARTHY locked horns with two Presidents. Democrat Harry S. Truman sought to brush him aside as, in Mr. Truman's words, "a pathological case." Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower supported Mr. MCCARTHY for reelection in 1952, though without visible enthusiasm, and later treated him with an icy disdain which undoubtedly was a factor in the Senator's political eclipse.

Not many statesmen, in so brief a time in the national limelight, project into the English language of our country a new word. Like the late President Warren G. Harding, whose coined word, "normalcy," found its way into the dictionary. So the word, "McCarthyism," was coined through the Senator's vigor and daring in championing the cause of Americanism versus communism. It was, however, coined by his enemies rather than by his friends, and bore a disparaging connotation to some and a glorification of their hero to those staunch and loyal backers of the intrepid Wisconsin Republican.

Who will now take up the gonfalon that dropped from the hands of the champion fighter? Is there any Member of the Senate who could grip the imagination as did Senator MCCARTHY in his all-out battle against Communists and all they represent?

Remarks by Representative Dies

Of Texas

Mr. DIES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following letter from Americanization bureau of the National Republic, dated May 10, 1957, and including also a resolution from the Public Affairs Luncheon Club of Dallas:

AMERICANIZATION BUREAU,
NATIONAL REPUBLIC,
Washington, D. C., May 10, 1957.

MY DEAR FRIEND: It is not news to you or to the millions of newspaper readers, radio and television listeners that Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY has passed away, but it would be amiss for this writer to shirk this opportunity to add to the praise that has so belatedly been bestowed upon him.

The late Senator it is said was a "very controversial figure," which is nothing new, in that to date anyone and everyone who has dared attack the subversive elements in this country are immediately so labeled. Look back over history and the toll is great. Senator MCCARTHY was at least conscientious, patriotic, and determined to do his utmost, even against the odds of ill health, to rout the enemies of our country from the public payroll. He did his part nobly.

From the day of his now famous speech in West Virginia, his maiden speech on the subject, until his censure by the Senate, he kept the enemy groggy.

It may appear irony that no Senator, once censured, has been paid greater honor at death than Senator MCCARTHY.

Even his bitter enemies were softened by the news of his death, or at least by the official and public respect paid him. Thousands of people lined the funeral parlor outside in Washington and in Appleton, Wis., to pay him their respects. The Senate Chamber and the gallery were crowded to the limit and hundreds stood outside who could not be admitted. A Marine honor guard stood beside the casket, which was draped with the flag he so loved. Newspapers, many that had often panned him, devoted pages to him. Radio and TV commentators praised him.

Senator Revercomb, West Virginia, said: "Senator McCARTHY's death is a tragedy to the Nation. He was a great patriot. He loved his country and he fought consistently to protect it." The Most Reverend John J. Cartwright said: "Senator McCARTHY filled a role which will be more and more honored as history unfolds its record." Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate, said: "All Americans can hail his clearly defined objective—which was to expose cunning foes who under cowardly cover plot the betrayal of our freedom."

This writer says well done, Senator McCARTHY, may eternal peace be with you, and many another great Christian patriot spring up amongst us to take up the battle where you left off.

Your Washington reporter,

WALTER S. STEELE.

Whereas the Senate of the United States voted censure of the late Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY; and

Whereas Senator George Malone has stated his intention to use his efforts to have this censure and all debate and discussion pertaining thereto expunged from the Congressional Record: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Public Affairs Luncheon Club here assembled this 13th day of May 1957 do heartily commend Senator Malone for his proposal; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this organization and copies be sent to Senator Malone and to Senators Lyndon Johnson and Ralph Yarborough and to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy.

Respectfully submitted.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE,
WINNIFRED E. DILLARD
(Mrs. Joe P. Dillard),
Chairman.

Unanimously adopted May 13, 1957.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS LUNCHEON CLUB OF DALLAS,
SUE B. FITCH
(Mrs. Robert Fitch),
President.

Remarks by Representative Francis E. Dorn

Of New York

Mr. DORN of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I want to insert the tribute paid to the late Senator McCarthy by the Long Island General Assembly Fourth Degree Knights of Columbus which was read at the Independence Day memorial service in his honor.

In Memoriam: Hon. Joseph R. McCarthy, United States Senator

De mortuis, nil nisi bonum: Dean Acheson.

Soldier, patriot, legislator.

Creator of McCarthyism as a symbol of courage, love of God, love of country.

Fighter who stirred strong opposition and keen loyalties.

Man of strong convictions and willing to pay the price for these convictions.

Champion responsible for impressing dramatically on the American people the danger of communism within our Government.

Ceaseless battler for the right as God gave him the power to see the right.

Stalwart advocate of our traditional American concepts.

Courageous warrior against fellow travelers.

Resourceful expert in the art of ferreting out subversives.

Masterful defender of our country's honor.

Dedicated to the battle to protect our Nation from its termitic enemies.

The conscience of the security-in-Government movement.

This was a man.

May his soul rest in peace.

Remarks by Representative W. J. Bryan Dorn

Of South Carolina

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the following article by David Lawrence is worthy of the attention of all Americans:

A LEGACY FROM MCCARTHY—SENATOR LEFT CONRTOVERSIAL ISSUES IT MAY REQUIRE YEARS TO RESOLVE

(By David Lawrence)

Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY is gone—but he has left behind a legacy of controversial issues that it may take years to resolve.

The Wisconsin Senator was a relentless fighter for what he believed to be right. He might have won the censure battle in the Senate in 1954 if, while under severe strain during the proceedings, he had not tactlessly antagonized many Senators who were disposed to be objective about the issue.

For the Senate was dealing with a delicate question—the right of free speech in Congress uninhibited by threats of punishment. Never in the history of the Senate had any Member been censured for expressing his opinions, no matter how distasteful or unpopular they were. The Senate finally abandoned the word "censure" with its historical connotation of punishment and substituted the milder word "condemn." Even so, the Senate resolution set a bad precedent of interference with free speech. For to condemn a man because of the opinions he expresses is what has been called "McCarthyism at its worst."

If ever a man was hounded to death because of his beliefs, it was Senator MCCARTHY. His health was impaired by the strain and tension arising out of the tactics and methods of his enemies. They ganged up on him from the days when they saw he was making headway with his crusade against communism in Government. The Communist newspaper, the Daily Worker, in New York was the first to give persistent publicity to the word "McCarthyism."

There was no limit to the innuendoes, baseless charges, and whispering campaigns directed against Senator MCCARTHY in an effort to discredit him. For it was assumed by many of his opponents that, if MCCARTHY, the man, were discredited, the whole drive against Communists in the Government would collapse.

Some strange chapters remain yet to be fully explained. One is the vicious spread of rumors that Senator McCarthy had cheated on his Federal income tax returns, though it turned out in the end that the Treasury Department owed him money and sent him a refund check for overpayment of his taxes. Yet, before the Internal Revenue Bureau could complete its investigation, the campaign to maneuver McCarthy into a public hearing in which his enemies would have a chance to impugn his honesty was participated in by a Senate subcommittee consisting mostly of his opponents. Although McCarthy was reelected Senator by the people of Wisconsin in November 1952, after his refusal to testify before that same committee, his opponents in 1954 nevertheless used that refusal—which had occurred in a previous term of office—as a basis for the start of censure proceedings.

Another episode, still unexplained, is the case of Paul H. Hughes, who posed as a member of McCarthy's staff and, over a period of several months, collected big sums of money from various sources high up among the so-called "liberals" with the promise of "revelations" derogatory to McCarthy personally. At any moment during that long period, the fact that Hughes was not an employee of any congressional committee could have been established through the careful inquiries of an alert newspaperman. But the record in the perjury case that followed in the courts reveals a paradoxical example of McCarthyism in reverse. So is the current persecution of Scott McLeod, once a close friend of McCarthy and a stalwart fighter against communism in the Government, who has been nominated by President Eisenhower to be Ambassador to Ireland. Vice President Nixon has also been a victim of the same kind of tactics by the so-called liberals, who in 1952 spread false accusations about him.

Senator McCarthy made many errors in judgment, sometimes lost his temper, and at times ignored the counsel of his best friends. He didn't, however, mind fair criticism. This correspondent in his dispatches at the time expressed strong disapproval of the Wisconsin Senator's attacks on General Marshall and of the ill-mannered treatment given General Zwicker at a committee hearing, and denounced McCarthy's break with President Eisenhower as a grave blunder. Looking back at all aspects of the tragic controversy, however, this writer remains convinced that it was most important to the cause of true liberalism in America to defend the right of a Senator to express himself freely rather than to see him deprived of that privilege by the coercive action of those who disagreed with his views. Principle is too often disregarded under the stress of emotion, inside as well as outside of legislative bodies.

Senator McCarthy's great contribution, of course, was to dramatize the necessity for a vigorous battle against Communist infiltration. The record shows a sad neglect by the State Department in the 1940's of the intrigue carried on there. This was repeatedly called to the Department's attention in confidential communications from Senate committees and in FBI reports long before the Wisconsin Senator in 1950 brought the fight out into the open.

Incidentally, even after death, they still vilify McCarthy in Great Britain. Yet, had there been in the British Parliament only a fraction of the alertness which was generated by the Wisconsin Senator's crusade here, the treason of Burgess and MacLean, and the transmission of atomic secrets to the Soviets by Klaus Fuchs—who had been "cleared" for work in an American laboratory by British officials—might never have occurred. Indeed, the whole history of the "cold war," with its costly budgets, might then have been different.

Time, of course, changes many things. It sometimes makes martyrs out of men who were pilloried during their lifetime. The elder Robert La Follette, Senator from Wisconsin, also refused to testify before a Senate committee. He was being investigated because of public speeches—regarded by many people as traitorous—which he made while America was engaged in World War I. The two houses of the Wisconsin legislature—controlled by his own party—formally called on the United States Senate to expel him. But the Senate took no action. Only last week, the elder La Follette was selected by a Senate committee to be 1 of the 5 in the Senate's "Hall of Fame." The lapse of time seems to furnish a different perspective on the record of Wisconsin Senators and maybe, many years hence, history will repeat itself.

Radio Moscow's "tribute" to Senator McCarthy is to denounce him as responsible for "the preparation of new military ventures by the United States." To have helped alert America to the menace of communism is to have earned Moscow's hatred—which is the most eloquent epitaph that could be written for Joe McCarthy.

Remarks by Representative Frelinghuysen

Of New Jersey

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include a resolution on the death of Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, adopted on May 6, 1957, by the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

Resolution adopted May 6, 1957

Whereas the whole Nation was shocked last week at the sudden death of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, of Wisconsin; and

Whereas Senator McCARTHY, while a very controversial figure in the United States history, was deeply loved and respected by many citizens of our State and Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the members of the general assembly express their regret at his untimely passing and extend sincere condolences to his bereaved widow and family; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, signed by the speaker and attested by the clerk, be forwarded to Mrs. McCarthy.

ELLEN MILLS,
Speaker of the General Assembly.

Attest:

WILLIAM J. KOHM,
Clerk of the General Assembly.

Remarks by Representative Gwinn

Of New York

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the principal city in my district is Yonkers, N. Y., with a population of about 165,000 people.

I am honored to be asked to insert a copy of the resolution by the Common Council of the City of Yonkers into the Congressional Record, memorializing that courageous patriot, the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, of Wisconsin.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION 539, 1957

Whereas Almighty God, in His infinite wisdom, has called to his eternal reward the Honorable JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, United States Senator from Wisconsin; and

Whereas Senator MCCARTHY was a stalwart and a bulwark of opposition to the international forces of communism which was rampant in these United States at a very critical time, namely, during and immediately following World War II; and

Whereas he was an outspoken and forthright citizen, who undertook a most unpleasant task at great risk to his personal prestige; and

Whereas he will long be remembered as a fighting and courageous patriot, with a firm conviction, the temerity, sagacity, and fortitude to defend that conviction against what appeared to be overwhelmingly insurmountable pressures and odds; and

Whereas he was a champion of democracy, and even in death is admired by both friend and foe: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Common Council of the City of Yonkers in meeting assembled, That this common council does and it hereby expresses its heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolences to the bereaved members of his family in this their great hour of sorrow; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be inscribed on the record of this common council and the city clerk be directed to forward a copy thereof to his bereaved wife, Jean McCarthy, and when this council adjourns, it do so in respect to the memory of the late JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, United States Senator from Wisconsin.

Remarks by Representative Henderson

Of Ohio

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the people of Wisconsin and the Nation have today paid their respect to the memory of the late Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, whose death occurred last Thursday. His passing marks the end of a chapter in American history. His firm belief in the dangers of communism and the threat of that doctrine to democratic principles moved him to wage a powerful campaign that carried the American public to a feverish pitch as millions spent countless hours watching his activities on television. McCARTHY, convinced of the dangers of communism, awakened America to the extent of those dangers.

I will not say more on the subject of his controversial methods. Much has been said and written in the days since his death, by leaders of nations, by his colleagues, his friends, and his enemies. Senator McCARTHY had a singular place in the thoughts of the people of the 15th District of Ohio. The following editorials, the first from the Marietta (Ohio) Times of May 4, 1957, and the second from the Zanesville (Ohio) Signal of the same date, are illustrative, and I commend the authors for their thoughtful approach and treatment:

[From the Marietta (Ohio) Times of May 4, 1957]

TUMULTUOUS CAREER ENDS

Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, of Wisconsin, was probably the most controversial figure in this country in a generation. A relentless hunter of Communists in the Government, his methods and the results he obtained divided the people into two camps. One of these proclaimed him the symbol of Americanism and gave him highest praise and commendation. To the other he was the symbol of witch-hunting frenzy and it stamped him as a ruthless destroyer of reputations.

For 4 years Senator McCARTHY was the key figure in the investigation of Reds, as chairman of the Senate Investigations Subcommittee. His probing stirred the country as he pointed out Communists in more or less responsible positions in the Government. His activity along this line culminated in his big controversy with high Pentagon officials, including the then Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens, when McCarthy charged that the Pentagon was coddling Communists.

This hearing led to an investigation in 1954 by a special Senate committee, which filed charges against the Wisconsin Senator. The Senate followed with a vote of condemnation of Senator McCarthy, based on the committee report. It found him guilty of obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate and of breaching senatorial ethics, offenses that meant little to most people.

Since this censure Senator McCarthy had fallen into the background. Once a dominant figure in the Senate, he had been relegated to a position of comparative obscurity. In the eyes of many fellow Senators and his political and other enemies he had been discredited. Perhaps he violated the rules of the Senate and was ruthless in his prosecutions, as they maintain. But in the opinion of millions of citizens he performed a most valuable service by his fight against communism, in which he showed no favor to the high or the low.

Senator McCarthy's tumultuous career ended when he was only 48 years of age, but he will long be remembered for his bold, vigorous, and effective effort to make his country safer.

[From the Zanesville (Ohio) Signal of May 4, 1957]

Controversial American

Anyone who would permit prejudice against Senator McCarthy to blind himself to the Wisconsin Republican's useful service to his country is being unfair to himself as well as the memory of the Senator.

Thoughful Americans today are mourning the untimely end of his controversial career. Although there are many who disagreed with his methods, there are few truly patriotic citizens who will question his objectives.

In his zeal to expose communism, the Senator frequently spoke for the sake of newspaper headlines without fully documenting his statements. Thus the word "smear" became widely used to describe his tactics.

As it turned out, a few were smeared unfairly; a great many others who were smeared deserved more than they got. It was amusing that the more leftwing his victims, the more they complained of the Senator's meat-ax methods.

More ruthless tactics in the hands of Communists have been used time and again to advance their political aims and a great many people were happy to see them get at least a mild dose of their own medicine, even at the expense of an occasionally innocent bystander.

It seems fairly well established that few of the so-called innocents were completely so; the majority of the people mentioned as Reds or fellow-travelers by Senator McCarthy turned out to be so closely associated with traitors as to deserve a certain amount of tarring with the same stick.

Senator McCarthy's name will be remembered for years to come; not only as a symbol of the witch-hunt tactics his opponents accused him of, but also as an example of a man who recognized communism for what it is—a serious menace to the American way of life as well as the peace of the world.

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, in the few short days since the death of Senator McCarthy the press has been filled with articles and editorials concerning his life and his stormy career. The following is an editorial which appeared in the Daily Jeffersonian of Cambridge, Ohio, on May 6, 1957. It is an excellent commentary upon the controversial Senator from Wisconsin.

McCarthy Pounded His Theme Without Rest

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, one of the most disputed figures in 20th century American politics, may have put an indelible mark upon our history in that brief span of years when his star flashed bright.

Gone from the scene at an early 48, he unquestionably will be the subject of major controversy among the historians as he was among his contemporaries at the height of his power.

Power is the right word. From 1950, when a timely anti-Communist talk catapulted him suddenly to center stage as a fighter against American Reds, until 1954, when the Senate condemned his tactics, he stood as one of the most powerful Senators seen in America.

In that period he ripped and flailed at Federal agencies, declaring his determination to root out communism in Government. He charged that not only preceding Democratic Presidents but Mr. Truman and then the Senator's fellow Republican, President Eisenhower, were soft in assailing the Reds.

His rough-and-tumble tactics, his bristling energy won him hosts of friends in the Nation who appeared deeply troubled then over the menace of communism without our borders.

These same maneuvers, however, brought down on his head a ceaseless barrage of criticism—undoubtedly from many true Communists but also from countless others who believed the Senator's attacks were destroying the reputations of innocent men and actually helping communism by creating confusion and generating a kind of mental civil war in America.

In 1953, Mr. Eisenhower's first year in office and McCarthy's first as chairman of a Senate committee investigating communism, the Senator reached the zenith of his power. Running the group with what amounted at times to one-man rule, he pounded his theme without rest.

He learned at this time that he had enemies not only within the country but far and wide around the globe.

But by 1954, though no one realized it at first, this comet-like figure was starting a downward spin. Challenged by the administration in the celebrated Army-McCarthy hearings, he struggled through months of bitter fighting under the glare of television.

The consensus was that he lost both stature and momentum in that battle.

In November that year the Senate studied his tactics as a Senator and ended by roundly condemning him. From then on, he slowly sank from public view. His power crumbled, and he became almost a forgotten man.

But no one who looks back on the years 1950–54 would dare to hazard that he will not be remembered for the swath he cut through American affairs in that troubled time.

Remarks by Representative Hiestand

Of California

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, in sharp contrast with some editorials berating the late Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, after he is dead and cannot fight back, comes this one from the Los Angeles Times of May 4, 1957.

To me, it is so well expressed, especially in the last few lines, that I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the Congressional Record:

THE DEATH OF SENATOR McCARTHY

The death of JOE McCARTHY has already set off the liberals. Before he is buried they are eager to find where his grave shall be and desecrate it. The British, curiously enough, the people we have been so busy saving from their own wrack, are most particularly vindictive.

HIS BRAVE DAYS

What was there about this rather gallant axman that set about half the world against him? In his brave days, we think, he did a lot of good. He showed that our State Department was pretty well seeded with Communist sympathizers. He did not root them all out, but he made the Department very uncomfortable for them. If there is a right or wrong about this Communist business, McCARTHY certainly drew the line. After him everybody knew which bank of the Jordan he was standing on.

He made grave mistakes. His last inquisitions seemed to most people to be offensive. But on the whole he was right. He knew, either by instinct or through information, that there was something soft, if not decayed, in the State Department, and in other departments too.

This was a disagreeable business, and it was very easy to hate McCARTHY. A large faction of Romans hated Cicero when he took after Catiline and had him strangled. The same people rejoiced when Mark Anthony sent after him and had his throat cut. This was a victory for liberalism, or so they said.

Until almost the end the Times supported Senator McCARTHY in his disagreeable work—the rousting of Communists and their sympathizers. It is surely true that if he had not stormed against them many of them would not have been found out. He purged our Government of many men who should never have been in it.

And in all the uproar, something like a 12th century melee, there was nobody hurt who shouldn't have had a bruise.

We paraphrase an editorial we wrote 2½ years ago: There is no question about it (we said then): if McCarthy had not stormed and raged a good many of those dubious and dangerous people would still be practicing subversion in the subterranean levels of the bureaucracy, particularly in the State Department.

RIDING INTO THE FRAY

McCarthy was no hero, or at least we don't think he was. But he had the courage to ride into the dirty fray, into a battle wherein his opponents had no compunctions about fighting fairly, and take his lumps as he gave them. Senator Robert A. Taft, the great man of our generation, took a hard look at McCarthy and let him go—and he could have stopped him.

McCarthy made his mistakes after Taft died. They were silly mistakes, and he can't be forgiven for them, but they were honest mistakes. The man could be a fool, but he had guts. When Taft died McCarthy's judgment died with him.

And now that McCarthy himself is dead, and the self-accusing British execrate him, take another look around. Who is he who hated McCarthy so much who should be loved so much by the rest of us?

Remarks by Representative Hoffman

Of Michigan

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, courage, determination, and patriotism, all these in surpassing degree former Senator Joseph R. McCarthy had.

Just as charity was said to be the greatest of three cardinal virtues, patriotism was the Senator's ruling characteristic.

Memory recalls no instance when even the Senator's worst enemy—and they were neither few nor charitable—questioned his devotion to country. Criticism from high places never lessened his pursuit of those he deemed to be enemies of his country.

None of his colleagues, while doing their utmost to silence him, had the temerity during the long debate to even suggest that he lacked loyalty to his country.

Nor did they "censure" him. That word was stricken from the resolution adopted by 67 of his colleagues. The resolution stated that his conduct was "contrary to senatorial traditions and is hereby condemned." A most unusual disapproval of one's associates when the Congressional Record is read.

Reading the final debate, which came on December 2, 1954—Congressional Record, volume 100, part 12, 83d Congress, 2d session, pages 16349 to 16393—one is somewhat puzzled by the apparent frantic efforts to find words which would express disapproval of the Senator's criticism of those who opposed him.

Since that fateful day the Presiding Officer of the Senate has decided that that body is not a continuing one. It follows that, upon a final adjournment, those serving in one session have no further legal authority to praise or condemn Members of a previous session.

So the resolution adopted on December 1, 1954, under the subsequent rulings of the Vice President, are nothing more, from an official standpoint, than the personal opinions of those who cast their votes for its adoption; it was but an idle gesture by a body which had no legal right to adopt it.

JOE McCARTHY was clear sighted. He saw the danger inherent in communism. His experience in Washington and his familiarity with the Government's activities gave him to know that there were Communists in the policymaking and executive departments of his Government who threatened its very existence; Communists in Washington who not only held top official positions in the legislative and the executive departments, but who were welcomed and were entertained in the so-called highest social circles of the city.

His deep sincerity and his frankness, coupled with his determination to combat and destroy that destructive influence, would not permit him to step aside from his course to placate those blind to the danger, complacently accepting its existence.

Hence it was that, having one clear purpose and objective—the disclosure and banishment of communism from his loved country, he ignored those things and individuals which to him delayed or hindered his purpose, to banish communism, remove its advocates from official position in our Government.

Just as many another great patriot was vilified, sought to be crucified at the bar of public opinion, he was assailed.

Many of his critics, those who criticized him when alive, those who still continue their vilifications, are completely lacking in that virtue which they assert he did not possess—charity.

They cannot overlook, they cannot forgive the force with which he sought to show them the light. Many resented his impatience with their inactivity to a danger to the Republic which he considered imminent.

Events occurring here in Washington after his death; the multitude of people who sought to honor him when dead—

not only here but in the Wisconsin city near which he was born and grew to manhood, have already demonstrated that he, not those who criticized him, will long be remembered.

To me, the one tactical error which JOE committed was in forgetting that the armed services, that is, those in high command in those services, when occupying positions of trust and honor in civilian life, just cannot forget that they do not have absolute authority, exclusive absolute knowledge; cannot realize that they can be mistaken; that some in the service can be guilty of wrongdoing.

JOE called upon the Army and upon the Commander in Chief to stand up and submit to, and be measured by, standards which governed civilians, elected officials. True, the action of which information was sought was military. But it involved the principles which governed civilian life.

The Commander in Chief, the military, as upon rare occasions does the Congress, clammed up. It refused to give the Senator information as to whether the alleged Communist activities and affiliation of an individual who had been promoted actually existed.

Taking advantage of that situation, the Communists, the leftwingers, and those who disliked the Senator for personal or other reasons, turned upon him and sought to destroy him.

Undoubtedly, the pressure brought to bear seriously affected his health, hastened his death at 48.

That his true worth was appreciated; that the service which he rendered to his country will be remembered long after the names of his traducers have been forgotten is indicated by the letters and editorials which follow, and which are fair samples of the high regard in which the people hold him.

Permit me to read:

[From the News-Palladium, Benton Harbor, Mich., of May 4, 1957]

A PATRIOT DIES

The death of Wisconsin's Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY at the age of 48 years has removed from the American political scene one of the most controversial figures of the Nation's history.

Although Senator McCarthy is dead, the debate over the man himself goes on and will continue until history allots to him his niche.

We feel that Senator McCarthy will ultimately rank in history as a great American who, though not without error or fault, proved himself a patriot in time of national crisis. He was a man of character who was bound to be controversial because he was fearless and never sought the middle of the road when principles were at stake.

Senator McCarthy was an implacable foe of communism, in or out of the United States. He crusaded against infiltration of high places by Communists and Communist-sympathizers. He exposed their intrigue mercilessly. He drove them out of key positions, to which they had arrived through conspiracy or gullibility.

To the leftwingers and to well-meaning, patriotic critics, Senator McCarthy represented an untamed force for true Americanism. He was either admired or hated. He was vilified by his enemies. His death was glad news in Moscow—and elsewhere in Europe.

Nobody ever fought harder against Communist evil than Senator McCarthy. His critics cried that while his goal may have been good, his methods were crude and unfair.

"Unfair" is a strange complaint to come from Communists and Communist sympathizers. Who has ever heard of Communist tactics that weren't immoral and loathsome?

The Senate voted a resolution of censure over Senator McCarthy's tactics in his investigations as he dug the Reds out from the bushes in Government agencies. But without his energetic—and even ruthless pursuit of these termites, the American people would never know to what extent the Communists had penetrated American Government.

Senator McCarthy, despite what his detractors have said, say now and will say, was a fearless champion of American liberty and security. It was unfortunate that he broke with the White House, but he was a man who did not know compromise with what he believed a wrong principle.

It has been said Senator McCarthy's death may have been hastened by a spirit finally broken on the rack of hostility and ridicule. If this is so, his detractors will live to rue their actions.

[From the St. Joseph Herald-Press, St. Joseph, Mich., of May 4, 1957]

SENATORIAL STORM ABATES

Death, unexpectedly and early, has stilled one of the most controversial figures in American politics.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, of Wisconsin, is now referred to in the past tense.

To his friends, McCARTHY was the symbol in America's fight against communism.

The kindest comment from his enemies labeled him as a character assassin.

We don't profess to know the full, inside story, as the saying goes, but will venture the opinion that as in most cases the truth lies somewhere between those extremes.

McCARTHY defied the customary congressional rule of thumb that newcomers should be seen but not heard for a decent period of time.

Shortly after his election to the Senate, he was pitching into the State Department. He unearthed sufficient evidence and rumors to put the Department, its Secretary, Dean Acheson, and the whole Truman administration under the stigma of being soft on communism.

It was this spadework, along with the RFC's mink coat and deepfreeze loans and the Internal Revenue's shakedowns, that paid handsome dividends for the GOP in the 1952 elections.

Following those elections, McCARTHY switched his fire to the Army, charging that Reds had infiltrated into many of its high level administrative functions.

Neither side emerged with a surplus of campaign ribbons from that skirmish.

McCARTHY's diggings demonstrated, as have other congressional hearings, how creaky and inefficient the executive departments have grown. In turn the Army showed that the Senator's methods were indicating pathological twists and turns.

By a 3-to-1 margin in 1955, his colleagues censured McCARTHY. Censure is a formal disapproval of the methods used by a Member of the Legislature in carrying out the functions of his office. It is a step below impeachment which put a legislator's motives on trial.

Shorn of his committee privileges and standings, McCARTHY declined swiftly in influence and the word "McCarthyism," fell into less frequent usage.

Death in reality locked a door that was almost shut.

Even though his trail blazing wound up in a swamp, McCARTHY alerted the Nation to the danger of Commie infiltration and to another disease that is equally bad. It is the tendency of all administrators, regardless of party label, to sweep the dust under the rug. It's human to conceal mistakes whenever possible, but in as large an operation as the Federal Government, permitting human nature to go unchecked could be disastrous.

McCarthy made the country aware of that danger. His methods, however poor, should be judged secondarily to the principal objective.

[From the Washington Post, Washington, D. C., of May 9, 1957]

Your editorial on May 4 entitled "Joseph R. McCarthy" is undoubtedly the most viciously smug article I had ever read anywhere.

The technique used by your writer is all too familiar; the man fought evil and sought the truth. Therefore accuse him of greater evil and of the big lie, so that he might be destroyed because he stepped on too many vulnerable toes.

In this respect your paper has done a thorough job. The man is hounded to his grave, yet he must not be permitted to sleep. The true facts must be kept from the public which forgets so easily—the true offenders must be protected. What a sorry picture, indeed, for an allegedly independent paper in our free America.

The facts are written large for those who want to read. Look at the record or ask J. Edgar Hoover and ask yourselves. The only real applause you get or ever will get are from the uninformed and from the very enemies who seek to destroy us.

Aren't you aware that the socialistic state that you apparently favor and plug for constantly is not a palatable dish for any thinking American?

Apparently you value correct Emily Post conduct in a committee hearing above the effort to fight and expose the forces that seek to destroy our Nation. You value a socially correct Hiss, or a glib Oppenheimer, or a slick Silvermaster to an honest, hard-hitting Senator who gave his life so that you and I might not fall into the easy habit of avoiding the unpleasantries that the real Communist menace and conspiracy present.

Is it too much to hope that you will now pause a moment, give yourselves a bath of intellectual honesty, and return to the true, fearless journalism that we have a right to expect from the leading morning newspaper of our great Nation's Capital?

J. R. Smith.

Alexandria, Va.

Your very excellent McCarthy editorial ignores your own culpability. You shouted his name from the roof tops. You gossiped his lies in the streets. You carried his plague to our doors.

You, too, sought an easy answer. You smelled news. You did not reason why or why not to print.

McCarthy is dead, and still sadomasochism lingers incipient in all of us.

Douglas Sager.

Bethesda.

Your editorial had one true statement in it and that was that God will be the final judge.

I am in the Navy and 22 years old and maybe I don't know much about politics, but I think I have a right to express my opinions.

For one thing when it comes to be judged, I would much rather be in the shoes of Senator McCarthy than some of the other men we have representing this country.

Although 10 million people signed petitions against the censure of Joseph McCarthy, the big wheels went ahead with the plot because they knew he was getting too close to the rotten apple in the barrel.

Only history will tell the true story and I feel sure that when it does, Joseph McCarthy will be remembered along with Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln, and other great patriots who had the courage to fight the good fight.

James P. Curran.

Annapolis, Md.

Your tribute to the late Senator McCarthy is read and appreciated. There are, however, one or two small items you forgot to mention, consistent, no doubt, with your well-known journalistic policy of never printing anything you don't think your readers ought to know.

You forgot to mention that, as a result of the Senator's work, at least a few people now know that your glorious academic freedom really means freedom to teach only the swash from a couple of distinguished brainwashers to which you give three columns on the same page with your tribute to the Senator, and to absolutely censor out anything to the opposite effect, however distinguished its sources may be.

Take a look around, today and tomorrow, for evidence to show that, as Senator McCarthy never danced to your pipe, most of the ordinary people of the country aren't dancing to it either.

You hope, no doubt, to correct this deplorable ignorance, with the assistance of distinguished brainwashers at Haverford, Harvard, Columbia, and other centers where the glorious beauties of Marx and Marxism are so thoroughly appreciated.

You consistently forget to mention, by the way, that anybody who subscribes to these noble theories, Communist or not, must be pari passu an advocate for the overthrow of the system of American constitutional democracy, which cannot live in the same dimension with Marx's powerful analytic achievement.

EDMUND A. GIBSON.

WASHINGTON.

Ordinarily I am in direct opposition to the opinions expressed in George E. Sokolsky's column. But I have just finished reading with pleasure his beautiful tribute on May 4 to Senator McCARTHY.

I think many people feel as I do—approving of what Senator McCARTHY was trying to do, but not the way he chose to do it.

It pleases me to read such a sincere and touching tribute to a man who had so many cruel and unjust statements and actions levied upon him. He was so truthful and undiplomatic that his fellow workers found him uncomfortable and embarrassing to have around.

Were his blunders this despicable? If only men could see the results of their actions before—instead of after they are performed.

Thank you, Mr. Sokolsky, for honoring this unfortunate victim of the unescapable will of the strong and the mighty.

M. E. POTTER.

WASHINGTON.

I trust that you listened to Fulton Lewis' eulogy of Senator McCARTHY. He expressed for millions of Senator McCARTHY's admirers what is in our hearts—that he was indeed "murdered" by slander.

Do you suppose the bleeding hearts will feel as indignant as they did over the "murder" of Mr. Norman?

MARIE M. GRANT.

PHILADELPHIA.

I did not especially like your editorial on the late Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY in Saturday's issue. It rehearsed all of the old charges against the man, but it failed to mention his outstanding characteristic.

JOE McCARTHY was, in my opinion, an honest man, strong in conviction, strong in his love of America and American institutions, strong in his fight against all enemies of America within our country.

He was a man of Irish descent, and a Roman Catholic, who had been trained from his earliest days to fight for what he thought was good, according to his training. His church had exercised a strong discipline over him all of his life. That he was rough in his anger and his fight to preserve America, is evident. I believe he should have complete credit for his honesty.

As I turned to the next page, I read the piece by George Sokolsky, and what I read I liked much. It took some of the taste of the editorial away.

CHARLES COULTER.

WASHINGTON.

I have been a subscriber of the Washington Post and Times Herald, daily and Sunday, for the better part of 10 years.

Nothing that you can say can excuse you for printing the Drew Pearson column of May 6, Walking Alone Killed McCARTHY.

I am not nor have I been a McCARTHY backer but there is a limit, I think, to what people have to take and you should be ashamed.

T. H. MULLEN.

ALEXANDRIA, VA.

Remarks by Representative Jackson

Of California

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Ontario-Upland (Calif.) Daily Report of Friday, May 3, 1957:

A LAST SALUTE

Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY's unexpected death at Bethesda Naval Hospital marked far more than merely the end of a stormy and colorful political career. It was the death of the man that Communists both here and abroad had come to fear and hate more than any other elected official. Death yesterday closed the last chapter in the life story of a man whose drive, determination, and action put the fear of God into the hearts of Communists everywhere as only a handful of men have ever been able to do.

One Washington correspondent wrote that "the ex-marine and uncompromising Red hunter died at age 48, before the voters of Wisconsin—much less the perspective of history—could pass judgment on his spectacular and stormy Senate career." Curiously enough, JOSEPH McCARTHY's place in American history never will depend upon what the voters of Wisconsin, or any other normal Americans, might have thought of his actions and objectives.

What spelled out JOSEPH McCARTHY's importance as a major figure in this era's history was what the leaders of world communism thought of him. They feared him as they now fear only one living man, Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI. Proof of this appeared in the New York Daily Worker, official Communist Party organ, on August 25, 1954, at the height of the concerted worldwide drive by the Communist organization to get McCARTHY. There the Reds' two arch enemies appeared in a Daily Worker cartoon—both looking like thugs, of course—as part of the all-out push for Senate censure of the Wisconsin Senator which the Communists finally got later that year.

Day after day, week after week Communist publications, such as the Daily Worker, whipped up the party's members, fellow travelers and dupes in a frenzy of hatred for this man who threatened to wreck the whole Communist conspiracy in America. Nobody who ever saw copies of the Daily Worker, or its west-coast counterpart, the People's World, during that period ever would be likely to forget the frothing front page attacks upon this man, or the Communists' wild appeals to everyone who ever had a soft spot for communism or socialism to do everything in his power to mobilize a crushing counterattack against the Senator. Those headlines in the Daily Worker and the People's World answered in full the question of whether Senator McCARTHY's anti-Red activities were really valid, effective and actually important. They were a source of moral fear throughout the Communist world.

Hard, ruthless and devastating, JOE McCARTHY dealt the Communists sledge hammer blows in a language and a manner they understood clearly and feared accordingly. Senator McCARTHY knew them for what they were and pointed them out openly, fearlessly and relentlessly. As early as May 4, 1950, the national secretary of the Communist Party sent an urgent message to all Communist Party members through the Daily Worker: "I urge all Communist Party members, and all antifascists, to yield second place to none in the fight to rid our country of the fascist poison of McCarthyism." Communists were the first to understand what a deadly threat this Wisconsin Senator was to Communists and their plans.

Four years later, on March 17, 1954, this "get McCARTHY" program was nearing its climax. In a byline article in the New York Daily Worker, none other than William Z. Foster, longtime United States Communist Party chairman, declared: "McCARTHY will have many other powerful supporters. But the President and his Wall Street backers should not be allowed to get away with this * * * McCARTHY must be driven out of American public life completely. That would be an appetizer to a real head-on attack upon the main body of the threatening Fascist movement in this country." Anyone even moderately familiar with Communist lingo knows to substitute the term "anti-Communist" for that word "Fascist" in any Communist writing. Appetizer indeed.

Significantly, the United State Communists admitted in the party's theoretical monthly magazine, Political Affairs, that "an organic part of the fight against McCarthyism is the fight to defend the Communists now being indicted and tried under the Smith, McCarran, and sedition laws." In short, it was a fight to the death so far as the Communists in America were concerned and they used every weapon they could lay their hands on to kill off the Senator from Wisconsin. Yet only a few Americans, sitting comfortably and seemingly secure in their pleasant homes, seemed to understand that fact. Senator McCARTHY understood it, however, and in consequence refused to modify or slack off in his relentless anti-Communist drive.

Ultimately, of course, pro-Communists aided by an astounding number of unwitting dupes, finally broke Senator McCarthy's political power as a leader in the anti-Communist war. Such was the vilification heaped upon him by both the knowing and the unknowing in saving the Communist Party from disaster that even historians will be misled on the sort of man he really was and the fervor that motivated his actions.

As Edmund Burke, the great British statesman, said in his eulogy of a public figure in another era comparable with Joseph McCarthy: "He well knows that snares are spread about his path, from personal animosity * * * and possibly from popular delusion. But he has put to hazard his ease, his security, his interest, his power, even his * * * popularity. * * * He is traduced and abused for his supposed motives. He will remember that obloquy is a necessary ingredient in the composition of all true glory; he will remember * * * that calumny and abuse are essential parts of triumph."

Although many of them will never realize it now, Senator McCarthy deserves a last salute from every American who, as did Joseph McCarthy, has placed his country and its welfare above all else.

Remarks by Representative Keeney

Of Illinois

Mr. KEENEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include two resolutions unanimously adopted by the Du Page County executive committee of the American Legion, and one by Hinsdale Post, No. 250 of the American Legion, memorializing one of our Nation's great, courageous, dedicated public servants, the late Hon. JOSEPH R. McCARTHY of Wisconsin.

The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTION OF HINSDALE POST, NO. 250, THE AMERICAN LEGION, HINSDALE, ILL.

Mrs. JOSEPH McCARTHY,
Appleton, Wis.:

The following resolution was spontaneously and unanimously accepted on the floor of a business meeting May 6, 1957:

"Whereas your beloved husband, the late Senator JOSEPH McCARTHY, has met an untimely end; and

"Whereas he was one of the Nation's great, courageous, dedicated public servants; and

"Whereas he was a hero to many, anathema, only, to those of doubtful purposes; and

"Whereas many of the things for which he fought are one and the same with the purposes of the American Legion; and

"Whereas we of the Hinsdale American Legion Post, No. 250, Department of Illinois, feel a deep sense of loss at his untimely passing: Therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That this resolution of condolence be forwarded to you, and we further resolve to carry on, to the utmost of our ability, that work which he has, thus far, so ably advanced."

As proposed by Past Commander R. Noble.

Respectfully,

C. A. BURKHARDT,
Commander.

Resolution of Du Page County Executive Committee, Department of Illinois, Hinsdale, Ill.

Mrs. Joseph McCarthy,
Appleton, Wis.:

The following resolution was spontaneously and unanimously accepted on the floor of a business meeting May 8, 1957:

"Whereas your beloved husband, the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, has met an untimely end; and

"Whereas he was one of the Nation's great, courageous, dedicated public servants, and

"Whereas he was a hero to many, anathema, only, to those of doubtful purposes; and

"Whereas many of the things for which he fought are one and the same with the purposes of the American Legion; and

"Whereas we, of the Du Page County executive committee, Du Page County, Department of Illinois, feel a deep sense of loss at his untimely passing: Therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That this resolution of condolence be forwarded to you, and we further resolve to carry on, to the utmost of our ability, that work which he has, thus far, so ably advanced."

As proposed by Comrade Jack DeRosa.

Respectfully,

Wendell Jackson,
Commander.

Remarks by Representative Laird

Of Wisconsin

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the following resolution adopted by the Menominee Indian Advisory Council in memory of the late Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY:

A RESOLUTION F–16 (1957)

Resolved by the Menominee Indian Advisory Council in regular meeting assembled this 14th day of May 1957, on behalf of the Menominee Indian Tribe, That we do hereby convey to the family of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, its sincere sympathy and condolence in the passing from this world of Senator McCARTHY.

Resolved further, That the advisory council, on behalf of the Menominee Tribe, pays this special tribute to a great man who devoted many years of his lifetime as a valuable and devoted friend of the Menominees. His relationship with this tribe as a whole was one that stands out as an example of good fellowship and can be best exemplified by the many friends he made in this tribe.

It is our prayer that his soul may rest in peace.

A MOTION

GORDON DICKIE. I move for the adoption of the resolution.

PETER WAUKECHON. I second the motion.

ACTING CHAIRMAN. All those in favor of the motion raise your right hand; contrary; the motion is carried unanimously.

JENNIE WESO,
Acting Chairman and Secretary of Menominee Indian Advisory Council.

Remarks by Representative McIntire

Of Maine

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial taken from the May 4–5, 1957, issue of the Bangor Daily News, Maine's largest newspaper:

HE BELIEVED IN AMERICA FIRST

It is significant that the words most commonly used in the tributes paid to the late Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY were:

Courageous, sincere, and fighter.

The former Wisconsin farm boy who rose to heights in the United States Senate was all these things. He was also a patriot, a believer in America first. This is not fashionable among the one-worlder type of so-called liberals. To their way of thinking, it is all right for other nations to be nationalistic but not for the United States. And there are many nonliberals in our midst who are wishy-washy in their Americanism. In these perilous times the Nation needs among its leaders militant patriots like JOE McCARTHY.

Senator Jenner, of Indiana, best summed up what Senator McCARTHY's death meant to the Nation. He said:

"America has lost a fighting patriot, a courageous man who was willing to pay the price for his convictions and for his country."

It is true that JOE McCARTHY's zeal sometimes led him into mistakes. It is also true that his tactics were rough. But he saw what others didn't see or, seeing, dared not tackle—the insidious infiltration of communism into our Government. Sneaky traitors, fellow travelers, and leftist dupes of the Reds wormed their way into strategic offices—positions where they could wield subtle influence or spy through keyholes for Moscow.

JOE McCARTHY exposed the Red fester. He aroused public opinion and his sleeping colleagues in Congress. A housecleaning followed. Not a complete one, for as McCARTHY's political star dimmed, so did the anti-Red probe. But he did his best. The Nation will have only itself to blame if it lapses once again into what could be a fatal complacency toward communism.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

The Wisconsin Senator was a controversial figure. But his bitterest critics were more interested in saving the hides of suspected associates than in the security of America. Between the two, we'll take JOE McCARTHY.

His neighbors in Washington saw him not as a wicked "witch hunter," but as "a regular Joe," a "friendly neighbor," and "a truehearted American."

We have an idea that the bereaved Mrs. McCarthy will treasure these tributes above all others.

Remarks by Representative Mumma

Of Pennsylvania

Mr. MUMMA. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial which appeared on the front page of the Lebanon (Pa.) Daily News on the occasion of the passing of Senator McCarthy. This newspaper was always intensely interested in the late Senator's efforts to apprise the country of the communistic infiltration into our American institutions.

The editorial follows:

[From the Lebanon (Pa.) Daily News of May 3, 1957]

LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION

The tragic death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy yesterday might have gone down in history as a great day for international communism and a black one for the cause of freedom.

But such was not the case. Senator McCarthy was once the most courageous and valiant fighter against the Red conspiracy throughout the length and breadth of the free world. But Senator McCarthy did not die on May 2, 1957. Senator McCarthy's spirit, his will to live, his selfless devotion to his native land was assassinated nearly 3 years ago on that infamous day in 1954 when the United States Senate voted to censure him for being too vigorous in his efforts to keep the Stars and Stripes flying above the hammer and sickle.

When those Senators, whose adherents included Dave Beck's counsel, the erstwhile and not lamented Jim Duff, of Pennsylvania, voted to censure their colleague, they might just as well have signed his death warrant. For from that day on his vigor began to fade, his health to decline. Those Senators should now feel smugly proud.

Of course, there will be those who will say that Senator McCarthy was not the first foe of communism to have been subjected to a smear campaign by the egg-headed apologists for that evil doctrine. There can be no denying that. But McCarthy was the only one to have been crucified by the very body which should have given him its strongest support—the United States Senate.

And like President Andrew Johnson, who was impeached by an equally irresponsible Senate, he never recovered from the blow.

He devoted all his strength to battle the enemies of his beloved country. But he was betrayed by his fellow Senators. And now he has given his last full measure of devotion.

More than any other individual, Senator McCarthy focused the spotlight on the hideous menace of communism and the real motives of the criminals and traitors who hide behind the fifth amendment.

For that, this Nation owes him an undying debt. He will be mourned by all who prefer Red, White, and Blue to unadulterated Red.

But, despite his death, the United States will continue to flourish. In times of crisis, America has never failed to produce patriots who have been equal to the task. This land of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, of Patrick Henry and Nathan Hale, of Paul Revere and Joseph McCarthy, will keep on bringing forth sons to whom the cause of liberty is a sacred trust.

Whenever the Stars and Stripes are lowered to half mast, they rise again to wave majestically in their unchallenged grandeur.

Remarks by Representative Rogers

Of Massachusetts

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the New Bedford Standard-Times.

JOE McCARTHY, AMERICAN

The United States Senate and the American people suffered a grievous loss in the death of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY—a loss that is doubly tragic because his firm voice against the Communist conspiracy will be sorely needed in the critical months and years that lie ahead.

The distinguished Wisconsin Republican did more than any other American in this decade to alert the United States citizenry to the Red peril.

Senator McCARTHY was a vigorous, uncompromising foe of communism at home and abroad. He exposed to a shocked nation widespread Red infiltration in American government, educational institutions, and private enterprise.

As chairman of the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, McCARTHY had to fight not only the Communist conspiracy but public apathy. In the years immediately after the end of World War II, complacent America was only vaguely aware of Soviet aims for world conquest, and the subversive tactics employed in this country by agents of Moscow.

Senator McCARTHY shattered this complacency—virtually single-handed in many instances—with dramatic disclosures of Communist intrigue in the State Department, at Fort Monmouth, in universities and defense industries.

It was inevitable that McCARTHY's penetration to the heart of the Communist conspiracy would bring reprisal by Reds and Red sympathizers. He became the target of the most extensive and merciless campaign of character assassination ever launched against an American citizen.

By slanderous innuendo, McCARTHY's character and integrity were attacked. McCarthyism, a vague and meaningless term, was coined by the Senator's enemies and used in a derogatory sense to imply falsely a departure by McCARTHY from principles of Americanism.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

It is to the everlasting credit of Senator McCarthy that he never retreated under fire, never let up in his crusade against the enemies of America although knowing full well he would be unjustly persecuted as a result.

Senator McCarthy is best known for his incessant battle against communism, but this was by no means his only significant achievement.

He was at the forefront of the fight to strengthen United States defenses through more rapid development and wider use of guided missiles—a fight that has born positive results in recent months.

He was an implacable opponent of secrecy in Government except when required in the interests of national security. He was a zealous defender of the people's right to be informed on governmental affairs.

He was an outspoken adherent to the constitutional principle of separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of Government. He never failed to speak out against attempts by executive departments to encroach upon the constitutional rights of Congress.

Senator McCarthy was a man without fear, a man of supreme courage, a man willing and determined to serve his country to the best of his ability whatever the personal sacrifice.

He entered the Senate at a time when his fortitude and leadership were urgently needed. Had there been no Senator McCarthy to arouse apathetic Americans against enemies of their country and their Constitution, freedom as we know it might have long since vanished from these shores.

The Nation mourns the passing of this true patriot. His epitaph well might read: Joseph R. McCarthy—American.

Remarks by Representative St. George

Of New York

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, my friend, Mrs. Joe McCarthy, the widow of the late Senator, has sent me a copy of the American Order of General Pulaski presented to her in memory of her late husband, and also a citation presented to her by the Queens County Chapter of Catholic War Veterans, after a Solemn High Mass in Forest Park that she attended.

Mrs. McCarthy would like these two documents incorporated in the Congressional Record, and it is my great honor to place them here at this time.

"By their deeds you shall know them" (Matthew 7: 20).

When God in His wisdom saw fit to send us JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, He showed His love for us, because as an individual and as a United States Senator, this man emptied himself, by undergoing every kind of personal humiliation and condemnation, so that the menace of atheistic communism might be disclosed. JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY worked and fought toward peace in order that we, as children of God, might know that peace.

The people of these United States are deeply grateful that the Senator accepted the challenges of God's call.

On their behalf, the Queens County Chapter, Catholic War Veterans of the United States offers a pledge of gratitude and fealty to this man who was not content with giving anything less than life itself as the measure of his love and devotion.

"Greater love than this no man hath—that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John 15: 13).

JAMES E. MCGINNISS,
First Vice Commander, Chairman.
EDWIN G. HOOD,
Commander.

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass offered in memory of JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY by Rev. Joseph A. Grogan, sponsored by Queens County Chapter Catholic War Veterans, June 29, 1957, Forest Park, Queens, N. Y.

THE AMERICAN ORDER OF GENERAL PULASKI

This certificate of award is presented to Mrs. Jean McCarthy, in respectful tribute to the memory of her illustrious husband, the Honorable JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, United States Senator, of Wisconsin. A valiant American, an ardent patriot, a learned statesman, brilliant and fearless legislator. A courageous warrior who made the supreme sacrifice in zealous defense of his country, civilization, and Christianity against the ever-growing menace of the evil and diabolic forces of communism.

In witness whereof the American Order of General Pulaski has caused these present to be signed by its authorized officers and directors and its official seal hereunto affixed this 28th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1957.

[SEAL]

K. STEFAN POMICISKI,
President Emeritus.
CORNELIUS W. PUSZYNSKI,
President.
REV. ANTHONY F. ZASOUSKI,
Chaplain.
ROBT. M. HARRISS,
Chairman.
JOSEPH A. SUOZZI.

Remarks by Representative Sheehan

Of Illinois

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, countless millions of American citizens will agree with the thoughts stated in the following editorial from the Chicago Tribune of May 4, 1957:

A VALIANT FIGHTER

If Senator JOE MCCARTHY had been a Communist sympathizer or agent, given to invoking the fifth amendment, the chant would now be rising from every liberal minaret in the land that he was hounded to his death by false accusations. The cry would be heard that he was a victim of character assassination and that he was driven to death through persecution by insinuation.

We have heard these lamentations every time a Communist has dived out of a high window or jumped off a roof. When Harry Dexter White, the Communist agent in Henry Morgenthau's Treasury Department, died 4 days after he had been called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, one liberal mouthpiece termed him the "victim of a special sort of tyranny" in the form of our modern American style inquisition.

When Laurence Duggan, former State Department official and director of the Institute of International Education, having been named as a Communist, catapulted to death from the window of his 16th floor office, copious tears were shed on the theory that an act of desperation had been occasioned by a groundless accusation.

The U. N. general counsel, Abraham H. Feller, like Alger Hiss a graduate of New Deal Washington, also exited life through a 12th floor window after the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee had become interested in the number of Communists who had moved into key U. N. posts. As usual, the liberal line was that he had been put under the strain of defending his associates against indiscriminate smears or exaggerated charges.

We have heard the same outcry again recently, when E. Herbert Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, jumped off the roof of a high building in Cairo, a few days after the same subcommittee had revived charges of his onetime Communist connections. The editorial tirade of one liberal organ in New York was launched on the note, "Whether Mr. Norman was literally driven to his death by the actions of Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee and its chief counsel, Robert Morris, may not be susceptible of proof." But—and you can easily fill in the rest.

We do not expect to hear the death of Senator McCarthy bemoaned in such terms. The Senator was no Communist; hence he was no hero to the liberals. He was a patriotic American and a determined opponent of Communists. And because of that he was made the target of the greatest organized smear campaign of our day. Every liberal commentator and newspaper lost no opportunity to vilify him. The White House palace guard plotted his ruin. The President singled him out for studied insults. His political enemies ganged up on him.

The term "McCarthyism" was coined to make him appear contemptible, but no sensitive lover of Moscow was ever pilloried with such violent animosity as was Senator McCarthy in the public hearings that revolved around the petty issue of a promotion that never materialized for a member of his staff who was drafted into the Army as a private.

There followed the lynching bee in the Senate which reached a predetermined judgment that Senator McCarthy's conduct was to be "condemned."

Even Joe McCarthy's honorable service as a marine in the Pacific war was questioned, and it was implied that somehow he was not entitled to the combat medals he had won. Insinuations were made that he was a tax evader, but, when the Internal Revenue Service completed its investigation, it was found that Senator McCarthy had overpaid his tax and was entitled to a refund.

No man in public life was ever persecuted and maligned because of his beliefs as was Senator McCarthy. All of the phony martyrs of "ordeal by slander" lumped together never absorbed a fraction of the abuse that was visited on him. He took it all without a whimper and stuck to his guns. The Republic has lost a stalwart defender.

Remarks by Representative Lawrence H. Smith

Of Wisconsin

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including several newspaper editorials:

[From the Boston Herald]

IMPOSSIBLE TO SEE HIM CLEAR

It is impossible to see JOSEPH RAYMOND MCCARTHY clear, for the smoke of his battlefields still hangs about him even in death. All we can know is that something extraordinary has passed from the American scene, and if it was a good thing or a bad thing those who come along after us will have to decide. None today, as we have said, can honestly balance the account with JOSEPH MCCARTHY. He was spectacularly great for something, and for what that was we must wait a time of greater objectivity.

[From the Philadelphia Bulletin]

WAR ON REDS TO GO ON

Death has removed from the American political scene one of its most picturesque and vehement actors. MCCARTHY was as able as he was active in his prime. He was astute, vigorious and relentless. Doubtless many share his view that to stamp out the termites who work secretly to undermine our Government it is necessary to deal harshly not only with the guilty but with the suspected. Despite the passing of the chief huntsman in political circles, the warfare on the Red underground will go on. It is regrettable that Senator MCCARTHY did not live to attend ultimately the funeral of the Communist Party in the United States.

[From the Daily News and the Daily Mirror]

ABSOLUTELY TOP-DRAWER

He was a complete patriot. He alerted the American people to the criminal Communist conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States. Though he made occasional mistakes, we think he was a great man, and that the Nation's loss is correspondingly great. A man is often measured by the enemies he makes. Judging from his choice assortment of characters, both here and abroad, who hated and feared Senator MCCARTHY, he was absolutely top-drawer.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

[From the Daily Mirror]

MAN WHO DID NOT RETREAT

Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY was a young giant of our times. Communists and leftists hated him because they feared him. Millions of patriotic Americans loved him. Many were puzzled by his tactics, but none by his purpose. He struck hard at a time when powerhouse punching was needed. Sometimes the swings were wild. We criticized him for his means, never for his ends. Perhaps he was unwise to take on the United States Army brass, but that battle, if it accomplished nothing else, ended any lingering, vestigial tolerance of communism in Armed Forces. He was a man who did not retreat. He was fearless. America has lost a warrior. The war toward which he contributed so much goes on.

[From the Chicago Tribune]

TARGET OF SMEAR CAMPAIGN

Senator McCARTHY was a patriotic American and a determined opponent of Communists. And because of that he was made the target of the greatest organized smear campaign of our day. Every "liberal" commentator and newspaper lost no opportunity to vilify him. The White House palace guard plotted his ruin. The President singled him out for studied insults. No man in public life was ever persecuted and maligned because of his beliefs as was Senator McCARTHY. He took it all without a whimper and stuck to his guns. The Republic has lost a stalwart defender.

[From the Star-Ledger]

DEBATE MAY LAST FOR YEARS

The debate may go on for many years before a conclusive judgment of his value can be arrived at. While controversy rages over his political activity, there can be no questions of the man's unique spirit and courage, which knew no bounds. If some of his enemies thought of him as a would-be dictator, those who knew him were aware of a deep sense of humor that would not have permitted himself to accept blind adulation and the trappings of a dictatorship. He was not one-tenth as calculating in his methods as his enemies feared him to be.

[From the Free Press]

NEVER ANY GRAY TONES

There were never any gray tones where Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY was concerned. Reaction to him was either sharply black or white, depending upon how people felt about the issues in which he became involved, and the methods he employed in connection with them. If we could distill the essence of his philosophy, and for the moment disregard reckless methods, we might find the purest patriotism. For the moment, we are willing to recognize that sincerity, letting time and history's perspective arrive at what judgments they may.

[From the Canadian Press, Toronto, Canada]

SMEAR ATTACK CHARGED

TORONTO, May 3 (Canadian Press).—Ronald Gostick, director of the Canadian Anti-Communist League, said in a statement today that the death of Senator MCCARTHY was attributable to a general breakdown in his health brought on by the smear attack launched against him by the leftwing and liberal press and propagandists in recent years.

In a telegram to Mrs. McCarthy, Mr. Gostick said the Senator's death had come as a great shock to anti-Communist and Christian patriots in Canada.

STATEMENTS BY SENATOR JAVITS AND SENATOR RUSSELL

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York: The death of so young a Senator of such strong convictions is truly sad. It should be our hope and aim that in the national interest the warnings of Communist subtlety and duplicity uttered by Senator MCCARTHY will long survive the controversy about his methods of investigation. My deepest sympathy goes out to Mrs. McCarthy.

Senator Richard B. Russell, Democrat of Georgia: I deplore the untimely passing of Senator MCCARTHY and extend my deepest sympathy to his family. He was a controversial figure and I often disagreed with him, but his word was as good as his bond and he could always be depended upon to do what he said he would do. He was forthright in expression and no one had trouble in knowing his views on any matter.

A TRIBUTE FROM THE WISCONSIN STATE LEGISLATURE—LEGISLATURE PAUSES TO PRAY

MADISON, WIS., May 3.—Both houses of the Wisconsin Legislature paused in prayer briefly today for Senator MCCARTHY.

The Rev. Donovan Palmquist, pastor of Central Lutheran Church here, delivered the prayer in both houses.

He asked God to "raise up from among the citizens of this State a God-fearing servant to serve as our Senator, one who will continue to protect and preserve the rights of this free country and who will serve as leader of the truth, equality, justice and peace for the world."

Mr. Palmquist continued:

"We thank God for the life of Senator McCarthy and for his contribution to the American way of life. We thank Thee for him as a fighter of communism, defender of free speech, and as one who was concerned about the needs of people not only in Wisconsin but throughout the world."

[From the Kenosha (Wis.) Evening News]

Joe—Courageous, Controversial

The death of Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy brings to an end one of the most flaming political careers in the history of this State and the Nation. His death, however, will not end the controversy between those who charged him with opportunism and driving ambition and those who defended him as the outstanding champion of anticommunism.

Joe's career was a strange one—from 1950 to 1954 at least half of the public rated him as one of the ablest men in Congress, one of the most courageous of public servants. Then came the Senate vote of condemnation in November 1954, and his virtual eclipse as a national political leader, no longer a man to be quoted on national issues of the day, as though he were identified forever with a lost cause.

Even during the peak of his career as a fervent apostle of American nationalism, Senator McCarthy often was not given his due. His method of approach to the problems of the military and communism split the country. Yet there were few men of his stature, few ready to stand up and fight, and among his supporters was the great conservative, Robert Taft.

It will long be remembered that Senator McCarthy was touched with greatness, for his influence was felt for a number of years in many political battles in many States and arenas. It was not odd that Joe in recent years was not in the good graces of President Eisenhower, for the military has a way of rapping the fingers of any person who makes a bare-knuckle attack upon its citadel. It is well to remember that it was Senator McCarthy who lambasted Gen. George E. Marshall, Eisenhower's patron in the Army.

What we all can be sure of in Senator McCarthy's career is that he was a man with determination, patience, and courage such as possessed by few men in or out of public office. In the face of bitter newspaper and other criticism, he stuck to his guns. Though at times he was generally denounced, his resignation demanded, he kept right on wading in.

Someday the Joe McCarthy story will be told adequately, and it seems to us that it will show he was able to rise above self-interest when the national interest was at stake—when it counted the most.

There are a good many Kenoshans who are going to miss having "Fighting Joe" as their spokesman in Congress. There are others who will say he was not constructive, but friend and foe deplore his death at the comparatively young age 48. He may not rank with the highest statesmen, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, La Follette, Taft, but he will not be soon forgotten, either.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, George Todt in his column on May 7, makes some pertinent observations regarding the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including his article:

What and Why of McCarthy Stop

"Strange—is it not?—that of the myriads who,
  Before us passed the door of darkness through,
Not one returns to tell us of the road
  Which to discover we must travel too."
—*Omar Khayyam, Rubaiyat.*

Brave Horatius is dead and who will arise now to defend the bridge which leads into the heart of Rome, itself? Who will keep the Red foe in play? Who will speak up again?

Whatever else his enemies and detractors may have said of him, none can deny that Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, was a fighter for American principles as he believed them to be according to his conscience. No pacifist, he. Here was a warrior. He will be missed.

Whether we agreed or disagreed with the stormy petrel of the Senate, we ought to recognize that the controversy and conflict of viewpoints he aroused was a very healthy thing for all of us. Until he came on the scene, we had heard the word from a little bird in the White House that any fears of Communist infiltration into our Government was only a red herring. Before the junior Senator from Wisconsin had finished with that red herring, however, the odor from it convinced most of us that there was something rotten several thousand miles due west from Denmark.

Senator McCarthy was going great guns in his battle against Communist influences inside Government until he stubbed his toe at Fort Monmouth, N. J., a United States Army Signal Corps center. At this point, the controversial Gallup poll—certainly no McCarthy supporter—was forced to admit that he commanded the approval of 70 percent of the Protestant and 85 percent of the Catholic population in the United States for his gallant fight against the Reds.

But his attempt to investigate the suspicious situation at Fort Monmouth proved his Waterloo. Powerful forces stirred themselves into frenzied action behind the scenes. What went on exactly has never been revealed. But in the end we learned that some mysterious powers convinced President Eisenhower that his executive authority was being challenged by Mr. McCarthy. The President seized the gantlet reputed to have been thrown down to him by the Senator. The war was on. McCarthy was charged with having attempted to get an easy berth in the Army for a former employee, Pvt. G. David Schine. The hunt for Reds was over.

McCarthy's strategic mistake—and it was one I pointed out repeatedly as a television commentator at the time—was permitting himself to go on trial for the better part of a year on such a silly charge in the first place. He was on the overwhelming offensive—the Nation was behind him in his efforts to ferret out the Reds in high places—and he ought never to have permitted his crusade to have been halted and himself to be placed on the defensive. In doing so, he permitted the opposition to turn the proceedings into a boring, even ludicrous, repetition of trivialities which finally wore out the patience of the nationwide audience, the public.

When the time was deemed ripe—when the public was at last so weary with calculated asininities that it no longer cared who was right or wrong in the case—the censure movement against Senator McCarthy was slipped over with ease. That was the quite obvious purpose of the tiresome marathon from the start.

What McCarthy should have done when the Army charges were revealed against him ought to have been simply to ignore them. Had he treated them with derision, had he gone right ahead with his offensive against the Communists, he might have won. The public, itself, might conceivably have come to his rescue, had he continued his crusade against the Nation's enemies instead of grinding to a halt to defend himself on know-nothing charges which were essentially stupid.

The most astonishing part of this whole silly mess centering around Fort Monmouth is that Senator McCarthy was apparently dead right in this instance. That there was espionage of the most serious nature going on there at the time—and for some years previously—can hardly be questioned any longer. Anyone in doubt ought to look at page 8449 of the United States Congressional Record, May 31, 1956, under the remarks of Representative Clare Hoffman, Republican, of Michigan.

There we learn from a Russian translator of American documents in Moscow spy headquarters that thousands of important classified papers from Fort Monmouth had been handled by himself personally. More thousands came from the laboratories of the Radio Corporation of America we were told by the Russian "Andriyeve." All this was discussed in my column August 13, 14, and 15 last year. An investigation of Fort Monmouth seems to have been very much in order. But instead Senator McCarthy got censured. How about this?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I am including an editorial which appeared in the Register Times-Review of La Crosse, Wis., on May 10, 1957. It is a tribute to the late Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The editorial follows:

THE SENATOR IS DEAD

By tragic coincidence, only several hours after the editorial on controversy above was written, one of the most controversial figures of this decade, Senator Joseph McCarthy, died.

The Wisconsin Senator's death should be the occasion of thoughtful mediation for the Nation. His health gradually gave way under the frightening burden and almost unbearable pressure of responsibility placed on the shoulders of a United States Senator who fearlessly undertook his duties of office. Few political figures on the national scene today care to be controversial. As a consequence they contribute little or nothing to the future of this Nation. History shows that all statesmen were controversial in their day. Only politicians are noncontroversial. Many Senators are mere politicians swayed by fads popular at the moment. Their guiding principle is one of political expediency. They will change their course in midstream should an ill wind brush against their political fortunes. They vote with an eye on the next election.

Senator McCarthy can never be accused of such a perversion of high office.

Senator McCarthy's death reemphasizes what thinking people in America have known for some time: Any prominent figure who dares to be courageous and fearless in fighting communism will be crucified and crushed. In this respect Senator McCarthy and Representative Martin Dies are classic examples. Few men have been crucified as viciously as was Senator McCarthy.

There will be multitudes of hypocrites who will come forward after Senator McCarthy's death with platitudinous praise. We are concerned here not with the late Senator's voting record, but with his stand on atheistic communism and his approach to this sinister menace in our midst. On this we believe he was dead right. This we have consistently held even when it was unpopular to take such a stand. We have followed his activities at close range and have had many personal conferences with him. We feel qualified to evaluate his program of anticommunism. We do not agree with those who say "his intention was right, but his methods were wrong." We have carefully studied his methods over the past years and have not found them to be wrong; at times he may have erred in judgment but who dares to cast the first stone? The greatest error in our age is silence and in that Senator McCarthy never erred.

He did make mistakes as all men do, but these were rather tactical erors than mistakes of principle. Senator McCarthy was always sincere in his objectives. As a former Marine he fought tenaciously and bravely for that objective—to weed Communist-inspired-and-led termites out of the framework of American Government.

History may well prove that the silencing of Senator McCarthy by powerful forces in and out of Government following the Senate-Army hearings in 1954 to be the turning point of victory in the United States for the subversive menace of world communism. It is our conviction that he was throttled because he had reached pay dirt at the top. His investigations brought him to the front door-steps of men of high rank in the United States.

The world, the Nation, and particularly the State of Wisconsin, mourn the death of the courageous Senator. It will be many years before Wisconsin or any other State sends to Washington a statesman with Senator McCarthy's courage, conviction, and ability. We cherished him as a friend in life, we grieve at his death. Few have served their country more totally, unselfishly, and effectively. His death is a severe loss to the Nation—a loss greater than most now realize. Long after his worst opponents—

who frequently in their cirticism didn't even bother to study the record—have passed into oblivion, Senator McCarthy's memory and contribution to the Nation and the world will remain. Few are entitled more rightly to the title that is his of being a stanch, loyal Christian American statesman. Perhaps his utter fearless action was sufficient to stop the advance of communism in the land he loved; perhaps his voice was choked out too soon. Perhaps his wife and associate should be a candidate for the seat he leaves vacant.

A man of controversy—yes—but also a man of history—that is Senator McCarthy. May his soul rest in peace.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I am including a resolution approved by the Republican Party in my own congressional district of Wisconsin. It extends sympathy to Senator McCarthy's widow and commends the late Senator for the services he has rendered to his party and to his country.

Be it resolved, That the Republican Party of the First Congressional District of the State of Wisconsin does express:

First, its most sincere sympathy to Jean Kerr McCarthy, widow of our late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; and

Second, its commendation of and appreciation for the service rendered the State, the party, and the Nation by our late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am including an editorial from the Ledger, Montrose, Calif., which is a tribute to the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. The editorial speaks for itself:

TRIBUTE TO A FALLEN FIGHTER

Every time a great American dies, a little bit of America dies too, if there is no one to step forward and take up the eternal battle that is the price of liberty. Great voids in the fabric of American life were left by the deaths of Robert Taft, James Forrestal, Gen. George Patton, Gen. Waldon Walker, and other great conservative Americans who have died in recent years.

Another great void is left by the sudden death of Senator Joseph McCarthy, who died quietly in the prime of life. He was a devoted husband and father. And he was devoted to the land he had sworn to defend from all enemies, foreign and domestic. Senator McCarthy had laid upon that altar of devotion to country, sacrifices that lesser men would not give: Official popularity, professional career, party leadership, social standing, political standing. But he would not lay upon the altar of political expediency the sacrifices of self-respect, honesty, moral courage, and his sacred honor as a God-fearing American.

JOE MCCARTHY had been accused of nearly everything, and some believed the accusations. But he could never be accused of being disloyal to his country, or of compromising his position. The charges hurled at him were answered by him, and where necessary, proved. His only sin was to oppose communism with all the vigor he could muster.

On the other hand, the charges he directed at others were answered only with smear. The administration—the administration he helped put into office—went to great lengths in the notorious McCarthy censure to neutralize his anti-Communist campaign, and to avoid answering the query, "Who promoted Peress?" The questioner was blackballed, but the question was never answered. Who today has the courage to hurl again the forbidden question that boomeranged on the man from Wisconsin? Who now has the courage to take up the battle where he left off?

The career of JOSEPH MCCARTHY is an inspiration for Americans. Of humble birth, he fought his way to an education and to public office. As a fighting marine in the South Pacific, he deplored what he considered to be corruption in Government, and he swore to return to his native Wisconsin and become a Senator.

In the Senate, he devoted his life to fighting the creeping paralysis of communism, only to find that his worst enemies were not the Reds, but those who protected them. His own party, which had used the tremendous personal popularity of McCarthy, MacArthur, and Taft to win the election of 1952, led the counterattack against the man from Wisconsin. The opposition of the New Deal Democrats he expected, but it is safe to say that the crushing censure by his own party hastened his death.

It is sad to see that those same party leaders who did their best to ruin him, added hypocrisy to hatred when they sent messages of sympathy to Senator MCCARTHY's widow.

And with long faces, his colleagues sat in the Chamber where they had shamelessly crucified MCCARTHY—the man, in mock tribute to MCCARTHY—the memory.

In a recent letter to us, Senator MCCARTHY closed with wishes for good luck and good health. To those who yelped at his heels as he fought a common foe, we wish the same. You'll need both luck and health in your losing fight against communism. And you could use, too, a portion of the brains and courage and fortitude—the devotion to God and country—displayed by a fallen leader, Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY.

Remarks by Representative Wint Smith

Of Kansas

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, a great many articles have appeared in the press as to what the passing of Senator JOE MCCARTHY meant to America. As the years go on I am sure a great deal more will be written.

It is quite evident that even in death Senator MCCARTHY remains a highly controversial figure. To many of us we believe he will be looked upon in future years as a genuine American patriot who saw danger signals for his country and tried to stamp out these dangers.

No one will ever say Senator MCCARTHY did not possess strong opinions and a will to carry them out. He had a great heart, true faith, and ready hands—also a rapier-like tongue to chastise and ridicule those whom be believed to be enemies of his country's well-being.

But throughout history men of opinion and a will have been persecuted. Socrates, drinking the hemlock—and Martin Luther tacking his thesis on the church door. Little men passing pious resolutions for political expediency never yet have dimmed the luster of real patriots. Who knows but in after years patriotic pilgrims may go to Appleton, Wis., to pay homage to the memory of Senator MCCARTHY and May 2, the day of his death, will be celebrated as Patriot's Day—in opposition to May 1, world communism day.

I append hereto a tribute to Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY by Charles A. Walsh, of Concordia, Kans., which appeared in the Downs News, Downs, Kans.:

SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY

(Tribute by Charles A. Walsh, Concordia, Kans.)

In a world which has lost its understanding of the concepts of right and wrong, truth and error, good and evil, and seeks only to adjust itself to what is expedient, a man like Senator MCCARTHY is a living contradiction of such Machiavellianism. The man of faith in a world of unbelief is more than an oddity; he is its mortal enemy. The man of faith and courage in a world crawling with cowardly toaders, has the sword of Damocles hanging over his head. The plain, blunt man, who loves his country, in a groveling world of sycophants, kneeling at the altar of such illusionary gods as the United Nations, is subject to persecution and hounding as a reaction barbarian.

Senator McCarthy not only had the ability, but the courage to uphold to the face of the unbelieving and cowardly world, the mirror of its errors, sins, and offenses. The great men of his age were not pleased with these reflected likenesses. They could not forgive him because the images they saw made them appear as fumblers and dunces. Their errors and stupidities were naked before the world. This was his great offense. The intellectuals, internationalists, and "certified gentlemen" were so outraged and cut to the heart, that they must destroy him. For those of us who understood the nature of this controversy, it was, indeed, a horrible thing to watch the sibilating hatred and foaming at the mouth, as it were, of those he called to account for their stupidities and errors. We saw them as they spat at their tormentor the most reckless and unfounded calumnies and slanders, and taunted him as an irresponsible demagog.

As a young Senator, Joseph McCarthy looked out on America after the Second World War, dismayed and appalled by the thought that after we had expended $300 billion in treasure, and suffered a million casualties, the world was rapidly falling into the clutches of atheistic communism. He understood, as all sensible men must know, that the military might of the United States, which was great enough to overcome all opposition, had been betrayed by its officials. He was intrigued, no less appalled, by this and was determined to uncover the men responsible. To this task he dedicated himself and his life. From the very start he understood the consequences of his mission. He knew that he would call down upon himself, not only the damnation of the Communist world, but the insults, threats, and abuse of all of their associates, fellow travelers, and dopes. He withstood all of this abuse with the heroism of a truly great man. He saw and understood. Others might also see, and understand, but would not have the courage or dedication to make the sacrifice necessary to preserve their country and its liberties.

Now that he is dead, I am wondering if during his last days and hours, he was not grieved by the thought, which would suggest that the battles which he had fought had all been lost and that the country which he loved might be finally engulfed in the torrent of atheistic communism. When the virtues of moral courage and patriotism come out of the storm cellers once more the stature and greatness of this man will be manifest. In many respects, Senator McCarthy may be likened with the great English martyr, lawyer, and statesman, St. Thomas More, who was an uncompromising, dedicated man, who harkened to the voice of conscience.

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, last week in the other body a memorial service was held for deceased Members. A great many Senators spoke of Senator McCarthy and what he meant to many Americans. It is readily apparent that some Members in the other body have changed their appraisal of Senator McCarthy. They should be commended for their new evaluation of Senator McCarthy.

I append hereto a most worthwhile comment of Nagene Campbell Bethune—a great American patriot who has long made her views felt in the realm of basic, American doctrines:

Dear Guardians: Although there are many happenings recorded in the news today which challenge our attention, the Guardian has chosen to pay its tribute to the inexpressibly sad news of the death of the greatest champion the cause of patriotism our country has ever had. Loyal to the core, he represented the best there is in American life, the most valiant fighter, he must be credited with great vision, understanding, and to rarest courage—that courage he exhibited to preserve and safeguard America in the fight to cleanse our country of saboteurs in our Government. I refer, with saddened heart, to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

"Men may come and men may go" many leaving no trace in the sands of time except that of evil—but not so with Senator McCarthy's passing. There was nc evil in him, and the old Chinese proverb still rings true: "Just as tall trees are known by their shadows, so are good men known by their enemies."

With the fearless independence of a rugged character, boldly defending whatever he believed would promote the welfare of our common humanity and the redemption of America as we once knew it, Senator McCarthy will go down in history as the man upon whose investigation the country learned of the frightful corruption in Government where scandals were shrugged off as a part of politics and the presence of traitors there had all but destroyed our Constitution. He believed the Bill of Rights must not be used for the protection of traitors and that as long as our Government protects the man who engages in conspiracy to destroy the very institutions which give him freedom, we cannot deal adequately with the fifth-column columnists (a word coined by him). Witness after witness appeared before him from the highest echelon who had their orders and their stories well prepared—down to the petty racketeer and his shady operations. His investigation brought howls of rage from his opponents. The violence and methods used by them, even to attacks upon his personal character and honesty did not intimidate him although Machiavelli himself could have hardly devised a more cruel, cold-blooded, and amoral plan than the schemes to discredit him, by the pinks, the reds, the leftist commentators of radio, TV, and the controlled press.

They said he was "rough" but one does not handle treason with slogans. Some characterized "rough" as lacking in the veneer that is so quickly attained by those who come to this cocktail, party-loving, social Washington who are so accustomed to having public men say quite a lot less than they really mean that it startles them when anybody goes up on a platform and talks as if he were sitting in a room with close friends, but Senator McCarthy's sincerity, simplicity, and earnestness soon won them to his cause. He had many precedents who lacked the social graces. Is it not recorded that Abraham Lincoln was on the lowest of the low social scale? Did not the gentlemen regardless of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the resultant war, object to the backwoodsman, Patrick Henry, as captain of the militia?

Senator McCarthy had a remarkable capacity for instilling faith and loyalty in the hearts of those who shared his beliefs. Out of the byways and hedges, in the humble places of the Nation, in the hearts of men whose words are perhaps illiterate and tones halting, there lies latent virtues that have been bred in the century or more of our free national life that have come through tradition—mostly accepted on trust—the laws and opinions laid down by our progenitors. Such men do not need a glossary to understand Joe McCarthy for he spoke their language—a language they understood—and they looked upon him as a spearhead to restore this country as the Founding Fathers envisioned it.

Senator McCarthy believed that the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution were divinely inspired and that if our Republic is to remain free, the people, not the Pentagon, the State Department (giving us such information as we need to know), or foreigners—must decide the issues before us.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

I am proud to have known JOE McCARTHY. The Nation owes him a debt of gratitude in alerting the Nation not only to the danger of communism in our Government, if for no other reason, they, as Communists, are obliged to destroy it, but in calling attention to those internationalists who are of a mind to compromise with the spirit of the Constitution. Inoculated with the materialistic virus, with little or no religious faith, indeed, so lacking in religious faith that it is almost a violation of etiquette to take the name of God into an international assembly of lawmakers or politicians, although we, as a Christian nation, Atlas-like, are carrying on our backs most of the nations they represent. They take no account whatever of America and its interests. We are second. They are first. Always first. They consider us unable to decide what is best for our own country; they would run it for us. And again and again they have brazenly broadcast to the world that we are gullible and inferior in matters of statesmanship.

Senator McCARTHY had the courage of a man who knew he was in the right. He typified the spirit and was, in a sense, a prototype of the Father of Our Country, with the same moral armament as George Washington, who led his ill-fed, ragged, half-frozen Colonial Army through the Revolution. He lost most of the battles, but when all seemed hopeless, Washington is pictured at Valley Forge, as seen and described by Isaac Potts, by the following: "General Washington's horse was tied to a sapling in a thicket. The general was on his knees praying most fervently." On that memorable night Washington stood firmly and won the last battle that changed the course of history.

JOE McCARTHY was deeply religious. He, too, in moments of great despair, sought guidance from his Maker in the sanctuary of his church.

Senator McCARTHY devoted himself to the service of his country with a zeal as great as it was unselfish, and it can be truly said that he gave his life, every drop of it, his last breath, to his beloved country. We who heard him that last afternoon little dreamed it would be his last address. We were uneasy, for he had shown signs of emotional strain and nervous exhaustion, but, as courage was one of his gifts, with characteristic tenacity he fought on. The physical body can stand only so much. If it is true, as many contend today, that "emotions kill"—and no one knows this better than the sordid sinners who heaped vilification and venomous animosity upon him—then JOE McCARTHY was killed just as surely as were his buddies in the war in Korea. Is there any difference between physical and moral murder?

Time works strange magic on events and human beings and very often brings a different perspective and belated honor to the daring souls pilloried during their lifetime and often makes martyrs of men. It was only yesterday that condemned Billy Mitchell and Dr. Wirt, that stalwart western schoolmaster who was the first to bring forth evidence regarding the Brain Trust only a year after the New Deal came into power.

JOE MCCARTHY is gone, and with him went something of the heart and soul of every patriotic American. To them the name shall remain a cherished memory; but he leaves more than a memory, for he left behind him his spirit; and though he is no longer here, his cause lives on, for he has inspired millions of his countrymen with a new patriotism.

NAGENE CAMPBELL BETHUNE.

Remarks by Representative Van Pelt

Of Wisconsin

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert in the Congressional Record an editorial about the late Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY which appeared in the May 8 issue of the Fond du Lac, Wis., Commonwealth-Reporter:

WE ARE PECULIAR

Americans have a peculiar way of talking about people after they are dead and buried.

JOSEPH R. McCARTHY had very many faults and they were emphasized because of the high position he occupied in the American system of government.

Had he been an ordinary citizen we might never had heard of him. He could have met his friends on the street and argued and charged just as he did in the United States Senate. None would have thought much about it. Mr. McCARTHY would have been just an ordinary citizen.

That is why we feel sorry for Mr. McCARTHY. We sincerely believe that he vigorously attempted to do what he thought was right. His tactics certainly were wrong. "Fighting Bob" La Follete was hated intensely during World War I, but today they have nominated him for the congressional hall of fame. He deserves that recognition along with other good Americans who at that time did not follow the hysteria of the common herd.

There is one thing that we liked about JOE McCARTHY more than anything else—he was a self-dedicated human. He was dedicated to his church and to his country.

We liked the sermon that was delivered at Senator McCARTHY's funeral in Appleton.

"No man is perfect. Senator McCARTHY had faults, and I am sure that he would be the first to admit it. May Almighty God be good to him."

It is easy to say things about a man after he is dead and buried. That is the trouble with Americans.

There were other things in the sermon which was delivered in Appleton:

"People expect that the honorable men directing our Government are infallible, which is far from the truth. Mistakes therefore can be made and are made. Instead of criticizing them, we should get down on our knees every day and pray God to direct and guide them. They need this help. Pray, do not condemn them."

There always is the argument that humans should be sufficiently strong. If they were, all would be living a perfect life.

Steps are underway in the United States Senate to expunge from the record a resolution censuring Senator McCarthy in connection with his self-promoted Communists-in-government investigation.

We hope the action never will be taken. It is sort of hypocritical to expunge from the record after death something you said about a man when he was alive.

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin will long mourn the death of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. On June 2, 1957, the American Legion, Department of Wisconsin, in session at Hurley, Wis., adopted a resolution in his memory. I request permission to insert this resolution in the Congressional Record. The resolution follows:

Resolution of Sympathy

Whereas the membership of the 11th district, the American Legion, Department of Wisconsin, has always held most high the principle of a 100-percent Americanism; and

Whereas we have felt most deeply the loss of our late Senator, Joseph R. McCarthy, one of our fellow Legionnaires and outstanding advocate of his principle: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the 11th district, the American Legion, Department of Wisconsin, this 2d day of June 1957 in conference duly assembled at Hurley, Wis., unanimously devote 1 minute of silence in memory and honor of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; and be it further

Resolved, That a letter of sympathy be sent to Mrs. Jean Kerr McCarthy, by the district adjutant, on behalf of the Legionnaires of the 11th district, the American Legion.

JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY

Mr. VAN PELT. Mr. Speaker, I also request at this time, permission to include in the Record the text of a resolution adopted by the members of the Republican caucus of the 10th Wisconsin Congressional District expressing the sympathy of the group to Senator McCARTHY's widow, Mrs. Jean Kerr McCarthy, and other members of the McCarthy family. The resolution follows:

> We, the members of the Republican caucus of the 10th Congressional District of Wisconsin, do hereby resolve:
>
> 1. To extend to Jean Kerr McCarthy and the other members of the McCarthy family our heartfelt sympathy in the passing of Senator JOSEPH RAYMOND McCARTHY.
> 2. To express our appreciation for the services of Senator McCARTHY to the people he represented and to the Nation at large.
> 3. To express our gratitude for the example set by Senator McCARTHY in his allegiance to the principles in which he believed.

Remarks by Representative Wharton

Of New York

Mr. WHARTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include a resolution adopted by council No. 275 of the Knights of Columbus, Kingston, N. Y., which was presented to Mrs. Jean McCarthy, beloved wife of the late Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY:

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in His infinite wisdom, to withdraw from our midst Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY; and

Whereas Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY was a Brother Knight of Columbus and a distinguished Senator of the United States; and

Whereas Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY performed an outstanding service by alerting the American people to the dangers of Communists in our Government; and

Whereas by his death, we have sustained the loss of a beloved patriotic American: Therefore be it

Resolved, That while we bow in submission to the will of our Heavenly Father, Kingston Council No. 275, Knights of Columbus, does nonetheless mourn the loss of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY who has been taken from us; and be it further

Resolved, That this testimonial of condolence, duly signed and sealed, be offered to Mrs. Joseph R. McCarthy, as an expression of heartfelt sympathy in her deep affliction; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution of condolence be spread on the minutes of this meeting; and be it further

Resolved, That this meeting of May 6, 1957, be closed in prayerful memory of our departed brother, Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

Remarks by Representative Withrow

Of Wisconsin

Mr. WITHROW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and to include therein a memorial to Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY by the Catholic War Veterans. The memorial was delivered in the Catholic cemetery in La Crosse, Wis., May 30, 1957, by the Past State Commander Patrick J. Whelan, on behalf of Catholic War Veterans' Bishop McGavick Post 421.

MEMORIAL TO SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

In the death of Senator JOSEPH R. McCARTHY, the Catholic War Veterans have lost one of their most distinguished members, and the Nation has lost a patriot and a leader in the struggle to free the world of the Communist menace.

Born and educated near Appleton, a law graduate of Marquette University, he was judge of the Wisconsin circuit court for a term before serving with distinction in the United States Marine Corps in the Pacific during World War II. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1946, and reelected in 1952.

Senator McCARTHY soared to national prominence as member, then chairman, of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee. In his short career, in a period of confusion and doubt, he was one of the few of our national leaders to have a clear vision of the great political problem of our time. With this vision went the cold courage and the tenacious determination to solve that problem. Many today understand that problem through his pioneering efforts. Only history will bring to light for posterity the full record of his unprecedented almost lonely efforts for a great cause.

Since 1946, Senator McCARTHY had been a member of the Appleton, Wis., post of the Catholic War Veterans. Through his help, Congress passed a bill introduced by the Catholic War Veterans by which the United States Post Office now uses a "pray for peace" stamp on envelopes for cancellation purposes.

Senator McCarthy's pastor and other persons close to him have testified to his sincere devotion to his church, and to his faith. He died as he had lived, a loyal son of the church, with the consolation and strength of the last sacraments. May his soul rest in peace, and may his bereaved family take comfort in the prayers of his millions of friends.

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